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THE STAMP ACT IN NEW YORK

THE history of Great Britain contains no chapter of more thrilling interest than that which describes the great seven years struggle which we are wont to call in this country the Old French War; The English people never passed through a period of such danger and never reached a triumph so complete enduring and secure.

While a nominal peace still existed in Europe, there was a perpetual border struggle in America which took definite shape in 1754 when the French began to tighten the interior cordon with which they surrounded the English colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. In the spring of this year, upon the complaint of the Ohio Company that Du Quesne the Governor of Canada had established a military post and built a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, the Virginia Government dispatched a regiment of troops of the colony under command of Col. Washington then a youth of 22 years, to drive them out. They were met by an overpowering force of French and Indians and compelled to surrender. This news reaching England the ministry resolved to send a few regiments of regular troops to support the British claims and early in 1755 General Braddock sailed from Cork; On his arrival a convention of colonial governors assembled at his request in Virginia and a comprehensive plan of military operations was agreed upon. Of the three movements he reserved for himself the attack on Fort du Quesne with his British troops. His bravery and incapacity and the disastrous rout of his army in July of the same year are familiar stories. The dispatch of Braddock was accepted by the French Government as a declaration of war. It found them ready, willing and prepared.

From the time of the signature of the hollow peace of Aix la Chapelle France had been silently consolidating her alliances. To the family compact which united the French and Spanish branches of the house of Bourbon the skilfull negotiations of her diplomatists had drawn the support of Austria, Russia and Saxony, the first two of whom were themselves contemplating

the partition of Prussia, while the latter had every thing to fear from her powerful and aggrandizing neighbor. The league of the five powers was completed in 1755 although the treaty between Austria and France was not formally signed till the next year.

England who by her arrogant assumption of Ocean dominion had isolated herself from all the continental powers found but one ally with which to face this formidable coalition; this was Prussia with whom she entered into treaty at the close of the year. Fortunately for her, Frederick was himself a host and by his indomitable will and remarkable military genius thoroughly occupied the attention of his neighbours. Never was England so little prepared for war. The weak incapable Newcastle was at the head of the Ministry, and the utter want of military preparation is sufficiently shown by the startling fact that at the opening of 1756 there were but three regiments fit for service in all England.

The capture of Port Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, by the French under the command of the Duke de Richelieu; the cowardly withdrawal of the British fleet sent to its relief under Admiral Byng, and the equally disgraceful retreat of the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of fifty thousand men raised for the defence of Hanover, from a French force aroused the country to a sense of its degradation and danger.

Fortunately for her a man was found equal to the occasion; a man who embodied and personified all those types which go to make up that strong though unlovely character which the word Englishman conveys. Except Cromwell no single individual in England stands out so boldly on the historic canvas, as a representative of national character, as William Pitt.

From the day that the great commoner assumed the direction of the foreign policy and the conduct of the war the success of England was assured; the people rose as one man to his support and every nerve, individual as well as national, was strained to carry to complete success his comprehensive schemes. Although he essentially confined his operations on the European continent to the support of Prussia by liberal subsidies the laurels were not all to the great Frederick. At Minden, by the aid of the British contingent of twenty thousand men, Ferdinand of Brunswick routed a superior French force and drove them from the Weser to the Rhine and in Quiberon Bay Admiral Hawke destroyed the French fleet which threatened the invasion of England.

But Pitt did not alone infuse his indomitable energy and spirit into the people of Old England: The Colonists rallied to his support with an equal enthusiasm. They vied with each other in voting men and money for the war. Dr. Franklin states that the number of Americans or Provincial

troops employed in the war was greater than that of the regulars, and elsewhere that the Colonies raised, paid and clothed near 25,000 men a number equal to those sent from Great Britain and far beyond their proportion.

In a letter from Boston of the 18th December 1766, preserved in a newspaper extract in a curious volume entitled "Lord Chatham's Clippings," it is stated that the Royal Americans, engaged in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Quebec, amounted to 15,000 men. "The series of victories so glorious to the British arms" as they were termed by Theophylact Bache, President of the Chamber of Commerce, in an address to General Gage at a later period, were the expedition by General Winslow with an army of provincials chiefly against the French in Nova Scotia in 1755; the capture of Louisburg and the islands of Cape Breton and St. John by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst; the taking of Frontenac by Col. Bradstreet with regulars and provincials detached from General Abercrombie's army and of Fort du Quesne by General Forbes with regulars and provincials in 1758; against Niagara by General Prideaux and Sir William Johnston with regulars and provincials; against Ticonderoga and Crown Point with regulars and provincials by General Amherst and of General Wolfe against Quebec in 1759; against Montreal, which terminated September 8th 1760 in the surrender of all Canada, by General Amherst with regulars and provincials; against Martinique by General Monckton, and Havana by the Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pocock, both of which fell into British hands in 1762 and the same year the occupation of Newfoundland by a force, part regulars and part provincials, under Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst.

Thus on every field the blood of the Colonists had mingled with that of their English kinsmen and the glories of war were the reward of their joint labors.

It will be found no matter of surprise in the sequel that Pitt should to his dying day have preserved a sense of gratitude to the hardy provincials who so bravely and generously stood by him in his titanic struggle with the first powers of Europe. No wonder that he will be found devoted to their interests, faithful to their cause and that the noblest and most glowing sentences, that sprung from his heart and found utterance on his palsied lips, were in defence of their rights and liberties.

Early in the spring of 1762 the French ministry, disheartened by defeat and embarrassed by the exhausted state of the treasury, made the preliminary advances towards a peace. The conditions imposed by England, though hard in the extreme, were nevertheless submitted to and on the third of November the treaty of peace was signed at Paris between the allied powers;

England and Portugal on the one hand and the Bourbon Houses of France and Spain on the other. The cession to England included all the French Colonies in America, the Spanish possessions of Florida, all Louisiana to the Mississippi except New Orleans, which France transferred to Spain in consideration of her cession of the Floridas.

In the depth of this humiliation of their country the patriotic Choiseul and far sighted Vergennes found a grain of consolation in their prophetic and confident belief that the American Colonies would soon throw off the yoke of the mother country, restore the balance of power which seemed at the moment to lean only towards England and, creating a great maritime nation, establish the freedom of the seas over which the British flag waved unchallenged and supreme. Yet these views were rather based upon their insight into the philosophy of history than upon any disaffection in the body of the English American Colonies or even any latent purpose in the minds of the leaders of Colonial opinion.

No where in the British dominions was the spirit of loyalty more intense than in America. The important share the Colonists had borne in the long severe contest, of which American soil was the principal theatre, excited their just pride in the glorious results of the war, and their personal feelings of satisfaction were still further aroused by the fact that their triumph was over the old enemies who with their savage allies had been for a century a perpetual menace to their peace and their repose. Their temper towards the mother country before the year 1763 was, in the words of Benjamin Franklin on his examination at the bar of the House of Commons, "the best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown and paid in all their courts obedience to acts of Parliament * * * * They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Great Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old England Man was in itself a character of some respect and gave a kind of rank." Dr. Franklin gave no opinion as to the personal affection of the colonists for the Sovereign but the histories and memoirs of the time are full of evidence of this sentiment. Indeed it may be said that no where was the creed of the Englishman "to love the King and hate a Frenchman" held in more implicit faith than among his Majesty's loyal subjects of America.

At the end of the long contest, which beginning in a rivalry for colonial supremacy finally merged into a struggle for existence between the Protestant and Catholic powers of Europe, the English treasury was in a distressing condition. Pitt had been unsparing of the public treasure to carry

out his aims. The public debt, doubled by the expenses of the war, had risen to One Hundred and Forty Millions of Pounds Sterling.

The Ministry was no longer under the control of Pitt. On the accession of George the Third in 1762, who began his reign at the immature age of eighteen, the policy of the administration was changed. The youthful sovereign chafed at the moral domination of the minister, thwarted his measures through the medium of Lord Bute and resolved himself to rule. Pitt disdaining to hold other than the controlling place in the cabinet resigned his office. The stupidity of Bute aroused such dissatisfaction that for a time the King was on the point of recalling Pitt but found the Great Commoner too imperious and his terms too hard. He then threw himself without reserve into the arms of the branch of the Whig party which was led by the Duke of Bedford and George Grenville.

To Grenville must be ascribed the alienation of the affections of the American Colonies. As the debt had been in part incurred in their defence he determined that they should share the burthen of the tax. In addition to an increase of the Customs dues he added a strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts, which checked the profitable trade the colonists had carried on with the West India islands, and arrested the extensive smuggling which had somewhat mitigated the severity of the application of the stringent laws by which Great Britain selfishly sought to secure for herself profitable and extensive markets in her colonial possessions without the privilege to them of intercolonial trade. But this was submitted to without murmur; the Colonists found in these unpopular acts no infringement of their rights. If the mother country needed such sacrifice the children would not complain although many were beginning to doubt the benefits of so unequal a connection. The final measure of Grenville was of a different nature. It was proposed to extend the Stamp Act to the American Colonies.

On the 9th March 1764 Mr. Grenville introduced the famous project of drawing a revenue from America by Stamps and announced his intention of bringing in a bill at the next session. In the development of his plan Mr. Grenville challenged the opposition to deny the *right* of Parliament to tax America. No voice was heard in denial and the next day it was unanimously resolved that it was right and proper to charge certain stamp duties in the Colonies. The house was thin and it was late at night when this resolution was agreed to and, as the declaration was only of *intention*, no word of remonstrance was heard in the British Senate. In the course of his speech Grenville declared himself "not absolutely wedded to a stamp act if the Colonies would provide some more satisfactory plan." A letter

from London published in the New York Mercury of June 4th states that the "well wishers of America have used their utmost endeavours to lessen the Taxes first proposed; in which they have in a measure partially succeeded and in other respects fallen short of what they attempted. In regard to the 15th resolution relating to the Stamp duty it will certainly pass next session unless the Americans offer a more certain Duty. Had not William Allen Esq. been here and indefatigable in opposing it and happily made acquaintance with the first personages in the Kingdom and the greater part of the house of Commons it would certainly have passed this session. All the well wishers of America are of the opinion that as the Tax in itself is an equitable act, and the least injurious that can be proposed, the several assemblies should signify their assent and desire to that Tax, under the present exigencies of the State and the necessity of the case, by which they avoid any appearance of an infringement of their Liberty and show their inclination to pay obedience to a British Parliament which has the power to make every Part of its Dominions submit to such laws as they may think proper to enact; by this means they will prevent a Precedent from internal Taxes being imposed without their consent which will inevitably be the case next session if they withhold their assent to the Stamp Act."

This William Allen was the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; his wife a daughter of Andrew Hamilton the famous advocate who defended Zenger.

If such were the views of the friends of America, not such the spirit of the Colonies. Trained in the principles of liberty, which acknowledged no right to impose tax except by the consent of the people through their legally appointed representatives, they viewed with alarm this first encroachment on their sacred rights. There was still a hope that by representation of their agents abroad and by petition to the King and Parliament the blow might be averted.

Parliament was prorogued after a speech from the King on the 31st June.

The New York Colony led the van in their protests in a respectful Representation and Petition to the King and Parliament by the Assembly on the 18th October 1764. In this petition, after a declaration of inviolable fidelity to their Prince, it is recited "that in the three branches of the political frame of Government, established in the year 1683, viz. the Governor and a Council in the Royal appointment, and a representative of the People, was lodged the legislative authority of the Colony and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government; that the people of the Colony consider themselves in a state of perfect Equality with their fellow subjects in Great Britain, and as a political body enjoying, like the inhabitants of that country, the exclusive right of taxing themselves; a right

which whether inherent in the people or sprung from any other cause has recieved the royal sanction, is at the Basis of our Colony State and become venerable by long usage; that the Representatives for the Colony of New York cannot therefore without the strongest Demonstrations of Grief express their sentiments on the late intimation of a design to impose Taxes on the Colonies by Laws to be passed in Great Britain and they invite the King to interpose his negative on the Unconstitutional law."

On the same day and by the same resolution, in which the Assembly of New York ordered the transmission of the memorials, it raised a committee to correspond with the several assemblies or Committees of assemblies on this Continent on the several objectionable acts of Parliament lately passed with relation to the Trade of the Northern Colonies and also on the *subject of the impending dangers which threaten the Colonies of being taxed by Laws to be passed in Great Britain*. A member of this Committee of Correspondence, William Bayard, visited Boston to obtain similar action from the Massachusetts Assembly which adopted a petition much less decided in tone than that of New York on the 22d of the same month. Both of these documents were transmitted through the foreign agents of the Colonies to the Board of Trade in England. They were laid before the Privy Council on the 11th December succeeding; the Privy Council advised the King to give directions that they be laid before Parliament." They were never laid before Parliament—they were suppressed.

In the beginning of 1765, Mr. Grenville introduced his bill into the House of Commons. It contained 55 articles relating to stamp duties in the American Colonies. It passed the house the 7th February, the Lords in March without debate and received the Kings signature the 22d of the same month. Previous to its passage the American agents in London were informed that, if the Colonies would propose any other mode of raising the duties, their proposal would be accepted and the Stamp duty laid aside. But they were not authorized to make answer. When the bill came up they carried petitions to the House of Commons but no one could be found who would introduce a petition which should impugn the *right of Parliament* and even the most interested, and those who were of the opposition refused to present such a petition. This news was made public in New York early in April. The News of the passage of the Act excited intense indignation—with it came the consoling information that there was a large and powerful party in Great Britain who stood ready to defend the rights of America. In the English advices received in New York the 2d May it was stated 'Without doors we hear every person at all qualified to form any judgment of the matter seemed in favor of the Colonies.'

Chief among the opposition was the brave Col Barré who had served with Wolfe at Quebec and who now electrified Parliament with his bold reply to Grenville's assumption that the Colonists were 'Children of English planting.' It was on this occasion that Barré described the Americans as "Sons of Liberty." The happy term was at once caught up as a popular watchword and associations under this name were formed in all the principal colonies to resist the act. These associations shaped if they did not control public opinion. Closely allied with each other and holding constant communication by their own express riders they were enabled to act in concert and in fact formed a representative body, the forerunner of the Continental Congress.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia was sitting when the news arrived of the passage of the bill. On the 29th May they replied with a series of firm resolutions declaratory of their rights and denouncing the unconstitutionality of the obnoxious measure. It was during the debate on this exciting occasion that Patrick Henry used the memorable words which, if he had never spoken another, would have left his name immortal. On the 14th April the great guns at the fort and those at the barracks of Philadelphia were found to be spiked. In New York public spirit was roused by the stirring letters of Sentinel published in the New York Gazette, marked among which was that of the 30th May on the text of Liberty. It closed with some verses which are a fair specimen of the popular poetry of the period.

Cursed be the man who e'er shall raise
His sacrilegious hand,
To drive fair liberty, our praise,
From this our native land.

In his letter to the home government Colden complains that the anathemas of Sentinel were directed against himself.

In June and July news were received of the appointment of the Stamp agents and the declaration that the act would be enforced on the 1st November. The time for action had now arrived and to be effective it was evident to all that it must be concerted.

The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, in June 1765, agreed to a meeting of committees from the houses of representatives or burgesses on the condition of the Colonies and to consider of a dutiful, loyal and humble representation to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief. This meeting was proposed for the first Tuesday in October; the City of New York being designated as the place of assemblage.

New York was naturally selected for the place of meeting as the geographical, political and commercial centre of the colonies. These it is

well to remember were essentially sea board settlements each of which had its own sea port, its own communications with Great Britain and was therefore entirely independent of the rest except for purpose of common defence. The white male population, between 16 and 60 years of age, of the entire territory, was estimated at this time at three hundred thousand men; a sufficient force for any purpose if combined.

New York though not as thickly settled as her eastern or western neighbors was the centre of influence. Her geographical position, with the broad Hudson and the great bay at its mouth dividing the colonies, made her the key of the Continent. Her exposed situation as the great border bulwark against the encroaching French and their Indian allies was a source of constant care both to the colonies and the Home Government. Upon her safety depended the framework of British colonization. 'Whatever happens in this place' wrote Colden to Secretary Conway 'has the greatest influence in the other Colonies. They have their eyes perpetually upon it and they govern themselves accordingly.' On the other hand no colony was in so direct sympathy with England. New York was not a chartered government but a province of Great Britain. The leading merchants were Britons born and held close relations with their kindred in the old country. Moreover the salubrity of the climate and the natural charms of the favorite city of the continent rendered it even then the preferred choice of British officials. The markets then as now abounded in the choicest provisions, native and tropical, and there was an elegance and luxury in life which was not only entirely unknown in the other colonies but was a source of surprise even to English visitors, who found the residences and tables of the New York gentry not inferior to those of the better classes at home.

Between New York and the English ports there was a constant and rapid communication by swift sailing vessels whose arrival was eagerly looked for on either side. Even the local elections in Great Britain excited as much attention and interest in New York as in many of their own boroughs. Visits to the old country were frequent; nothing was more common than notices in the journals, "of gentlemen intending for Great Britain by the next packet." Frequent intermarriages added family ties to commercial intercourse. New York therefore, as the most English in sentiment of all the Colonies, seemed a natural place for the meeting of a Congress, the declared purpose of which was a *loyal* demand for redress of grievances.

The suppression of the petitions of the New York and Massachusetts assemblies by the King was looked upon by the Colonies as a most serious outrage and dangerous infringement of their rights. The action of the Governors was awaited with anxiety and the hope was publicly expressed

"that neither the Governor of Virginia nor any other Governor on the Continent would think the proposed Congress so improper a step as to dissolve the assemblies to prevent it and, that there might be no question as to the right, it was added that their Excellencies and honors cannot be thought altogether unacquainted with the Act of Parliament, made immediately after the glorious revolution, which declares it is the right of the subject to petition the King — — and that Parliament sits for the redress of grievances."

As the season advanced the popular discontent increased until it culminated in an outbreak which from its violence caused general alarm to the Royal authorities charged with the enforcement of the act. On the morning of Wednesday the 14th August the citizens of Boston were surprised to discover two effigies suspended from a branch of the Great Tree, one of a number of stately elms which stood in Hanover Square. One, as appeared by the label on it, represented a Distributor of the Stamps, behind whom hung a boot newly soled with a Grenville sole out of which proceeded the Devil. This spectacle continued the whole day, without the least opposition, though visited by multitudes. In the evening they were cut down, placed upon a bier covered with a sheet and carried in a solemn procession, in which several thousand persons joined, through the town to a newly erected building, belonging to Mr. Oliver the stamp officer of Massachusetts Province, which was sacked and destroyed. Alarmed, and with good reason, for his personal safety Mr. Oliver resigned his office the next morning and gave satisfactory evidence to the people that he had written to the Lord Commissioners in England that he would not and could not execute the Act.

The example thus set was rapidly followed. Ingersoll, who had accepted the post in New Haven, was visited and compelled after many evasions to pronounce that he would either reship the stamps when they arrived or open his doors to the public who might act as they thought proper. Later he was hanged in effigy at Norwich. Johnston of Newport was burned in effigy and publicly resigned. Coxé of New Jersey, unable to hire an office for the distribution of stamped paper, threw up his commission. McEvers of New York, a merchant of the highest standing, directly threatened by the populace, formally resigned on the 30th August.

On the 12th September a card appeared in the New York Gazette which closed with these violent and significant words "All ye stamp officers resign; resign as you will answer the contrary at your peril to your sovereign lords and masters, the incensed mob." The warning was taken and on the 1st October every stamp officer had been forced to withdraw or seek safety in flight.

In Boston the excitement ran high. On the 26th August occurred the great riot in which numerous buildings, including that of the Lieutenant

Governor, who had made himself obnoxious by his enforcement of the revenue acts, were totally destroyed with property to the amount of twenty five hundred pounds sterling. There was no doubt of the temper of the people. They were resolved not to submit.

Early in September the news reached the Colonies of a change in the Ministry. In Boston there was great joy. The great elms, which were held in veneration for their antiquity were decorated with the Ensigns of Loyalty, the colors embroidered with mottoes, and amid cheers and military salutes of a vast assemblage, a copper plate, on which were stamped in golden letters, THE TREE OF LIBERTY AUGUST 14 1765, was placed on the tree whereon the effigies had hung. This appears to have been the first Liberty tree and to this day, though the pole surmounted by the Liberty Cap is the usual symbol, there is hardly a town in the country where at some period a tall tree, stripped of all but its topmost branches beneath which the national standard waves, does not recall the memory of this first example.

The stamped paper now began to arrive. The first was brought to Boston early in September by Captain Daverson for New Hampshire.

A few days later fourteen boxes of stamped paper arrived in Boston, but the ship that brought them was obliged to be guarded by a man of war sloop and cutter and brought in under the guns of the Castle. Those for Philadelphia arrived on the 5th October; the ship in which they came, laid off Newcastle upon Delaware under protection of a man of war. As it rounded Gloucester Point the colors of the vessels in the harbor were raised half staff high and the bells of the city were tolled. A mass meeting was held and the stamp master Hughes compelled to promise that he would not execute his office.

During all this period the Sons of Liberty were active in perfecting their organization, extending its numbers and to use an expression later familiar "firing the popular heart." On the 23rd September Lieutenant Governor Colden, who administered the affairs of the province of New York in the absence of Sir Henry Moore the actual Governor, wrote to Mr Conway the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 'that it was evident that a secret correspondence had been carried on throughout all the Colonies; and that it had been concerted to deter by violence the Distributors of Stamps from executing their office and to destroy the Stamped Paper when it arrives.'

On the 21st September there appeared a paper which styled itself '*The Constitutional Courant*,' upon the heading of which was printed the device of a snake divided into thirteen parts, each part bearing the initial letter of one of the thirteen Colonies and with the motto "Join or Die"—the familiar symbol used by Dr Franklin in his *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1754 to arouse

the Colonies to the danger of French invasion. This paper, containing spirited appeals, which the public press was as yet unwilling to publish fearing prosecution by the government, was prepared at Woodbridge New Jersey by James Parker, the old New York printer, and as Colden wrote to Franklin was by him distributed to the Post Riders in several parts of New York and the neighboring Colonies. These Post Riders were a powerful agency, indeed the only agency for the distribution of news.

Copies of this paper were hawked about the streets of New York by Lawrence Sweeny, a famous character of the period, better known as "Bloody News" from his familiar cry announcing the army news during the French War; a period marked by daily sanguinary episodes. Lawrence was a true patriot and no bribes of the Administration could make him disclose the secret of the publication. When asked by Colden where he obtained the paper he replied at 'Peter Hassenclevers iron works please your honor.' Whether the Governor took the joke does not appear, but that it was appreciated by the authors of the paper and the town is evident from the grave announcement in the succeeding number that it was printed at "Peter Hassenclevers Iron works." The device of the snake was revived again in 1774, just previous to the meeting of the first continental Congress.

The delegates to the Congress began to arrive early in October. The first to reach New York were a committee from South Carolina. When the measure was proposed in the assembly of South Carolina, says Ramsay, it was thus ridiculed by a humorous member; "If you agree to the proposition of composing a Congress of deputies from the different British colonies what sort of a dish will you make. New England will throw in Fish and onions; The middle States flaxseed and flour; Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco; North Carolina pitch, tar and turpentine; South Carolina rice and indigo and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with saw dust. Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form a union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces;" to which a country member replied, "he would not choose the gentleman who made the objections for his cook, but nevertheless he would venture to assert that if the Colonies proceeded judiciously in the appointment of deputies to a Continental Congress they would prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe."

The odd image tempts us to add that the national chowder, composed of these very ingredients, has proved a staple dish and to express a confident opinion that so long as it continues to be served after the recipe left us by the great Expounder (Webster) it will be found an excellent *constitutional diet*.

Thus South Carolina took the first step to a Continental Union in advance of her Southern neighbors. The relative importance of this Colony and of its population was much greater than at a later period, but even then her people showed the same zeal for what we may familiarly term the "newest fashions." Colden on the 12th October advised Secretary Conway of the arrival of these delegates 'about a week since' but was then in doubt whether others would come. This meeting he adds plaintively 'was kept secret from me till lately'—and continues 'I have in discourse discountenanced it as an illegal convention and inconsistent with the Constitution of the Colonies by which these several Governments are made distinct and independent on each. Whatever plausible pretences may be made for this meeting their real intentions may be dangerous.'

The hard headed old Scotchman carried his belief in uncontrolled authority to such an extent that to the remark of John Watts that a jury was the bulwark of English freedom he replied 'that there were no juries in Scotland and he did not see but justice was as well administered as in England.' He was perfectly consistent. In February he had written to the Earl of Halifax 'that all associations are dangerous to good government—more so in distant dominions;' this of an association of lawyers; now a Congress was about to hold a secret session under his very nose

To the Boston Committee who waited upon him a few days later he gave a cold reception and told them 'that the meeting of the Commissioners was unconstitutional, unprecedented and unlawful and that he should give them no kind of countenance or encouragement.'

On Monday, the 7th day of October, Congress met. There were present delegates from nine colonies, Massachusetts Bay; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; Connecticut; New York; New Jersey; Pennsylvania, the Governments of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Suffolk upon Delaware; Maryland and South Carolina. Of these only six were duly authorized committees appointed by the respective legislatures of their several colonies in accordance with the terms of the call. Lieut-Governor Colden having prorogued the assembly of New York from time to time, so that they had not an opportunity to appoint members, the Committee of Correspondence chosen by the assembly at its last session was admitted to represent the Province.

The South Carolina Committee was restricted by their assembly and ordered to submit the proceedings agreed upon to its approbation. The Connecticut Assembly confined their delegates by the same restriction. Of the four Colonies, not represented, the assemblies of North Carolina and Virginia were prorogued by their Governors, so that they had no opportunity

to join. That of Georgia had been informed by their Governor that he did not think it expedient for them to send a committee, and the Assembly of New Hampshire wrote that though 'approving the plan of a representation and the proposed method for obtaining it' yet that 'the position of their governmental affairs would not permit them to appoint a committee.'

Of the twenty eight members who composed this Congress many were already well known throughout the Colonies. All were in the prime of life and power. John Cruger, one of the oldest and best known, a leading merchant, who for ten years had held the office of Mayor of the City; Philip Livingston, also a merchant of great wealth, later signer of the Declaration of Independence and Robert R. Livingston known as Justice Livingston, the soul of the opposition to the Ministry, worthily represented New York. From Massachusetts came James Otis whose "flaming patriotism" and consummate eloquence, as a defender of constitutional rights in opposition to the writs of assistance, had in 1761 electrified the Colonies. From Connecticut William Samuel Johnson, later one of the framers of the Federal Constitution. From Pennsylvania, John Dickinson the Pennsylvania Farmer, later a member of the Continental Congress. From Delaware, Cæsar Rodney and Thomas McKean, both tried patriots and both signers of the Declaration of Independence. From South Carolina, Christopher Gadsden, one of the boldest and most resolute of the proud unflinching spirits of the time, and John Rutledge who although but twenty six years of age had already displayed those brilliant powers which made him later a conspicuous figure in the first Continental Congress. It is impossible to give an outline of the lives and characters of this illustrious band. Their history is the history of the country. To recite their achievements in field and council would take volumes; indeed has taken volumes.

The first business of the Congress was to ballot for a chairman. The candidates were James Otis and Timothy Ruggles, the latter of whom was chosen. It was a proper compliment to Massachusetts to select the presiding officer from her committee and it was not unnatural that the choice should fall upon Ruggles who was one of the senior members of the Congress and had been distinguished both as the speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly and as Brigadier General in the French War; the Congress then adjourned; the meagre journal of the proceedings, printed in 1765, gives no account of further action until the 19th October when it is stated to have met according to adjournment and resumed 'as yesterday' and upon mature deliberation agreed to a declaration of rights and grievances of the Colonies of America. It is not stated by whom this declaration was presented, but it is a well known and universally accepted tradition that it was from the

clear head and manly pen of John Cruger, the veteran of the patriotic assembly. This able document, which ranks among the best of the period, declares in unmistakeable terms the equality of the Colonists with natural born Britons; that taxation without representation is unconstitutional; that the acts of Parliament applying stamp duties and other duties had a tendency to subvert their rights and liberties. Committees were then appointed; Robert R. Livingston, Johnston and Murdock to draft an address to the King; Rutledge, Tilghman and Philip Livingston a memorial and petition to the Lords; and Lynch, Otis and McKean a petition to the house of Commons.

On the 21st, 22nd and 23rd these addresses were severally adopted. On the 24th consideration was had as to the manner of presenting these petitions when it was determined to recommend to the several colonies to appoint special agents 'to solicit relief.' Only those delegates from the six Colonies who were fully authorized by their assemblies appended their signatures, though all concurred in the proceedings.

For an insight into the nature of these proceedings reference must be had to the diaries and memoirs of the delegates. From them we learn that from the beginning, the chairman, Brigadier Ruggles appeared to be in full sympathy with the Congress yet at the close entirely changed his front. John Adams relates in his diary that Otis informed him in 1766 that when the delegates 'came to sign the address, Ruggles moved that none of them should sign, but that the petitions should be carried back to the assemblies to see if they would adopt them; this would have defeated the whole enterprise.' Mr. Adams adds 'that Ruggles had an inflexible oddity about him which has gained him a character for courage and probity but renders him a disagreeable companion in business.' In 1774, Adams makes entry in his diary of a conversation with McKean of Delaware who gave him an account of the behavior of Ruggles. 'He was treated [he says] pretty cavalierly. His behavior was very dishonorable.' A few days later Adams relates an interview with Caesar Rodney whom he describes as 'the oddest looking man in the world, tall, thin and slender as a reed, pale: his face not bigger than a large apple yet with sense and fire, spirit, wit and humor in his countenance; Rodney made himself very merry with Ruggles and his pretended scruples and timidities at the last Congress.'

In 1812 John Adams wrote to McKean who was then the only survivor of the Stamp Act Congress, to have been a member of which Adams says has 'long been a singular distinction,' and invited him to 'commit to writing his observations on the characters who composed that assembly and the objects of the meeting.' 'Otis and Ruggles' he adds 'are peculiarly inter-

esting to me and 'every thing that passed on that important occasion is and will be more and more demanded (and it is to be feared in vain) by our posterity.'

In August 1813, McKean replied with a copy of the proceedings in a tract published by Almon in 1767 and gave some personal details. 'James Otis' he says 'appeared to him to be the boldest and best speaker. When the business was finished our president would not sign the petition and peremptorily refused to assign any reasons until I pressed him so hard that at last he said that "*it was against his conscience*:" on which word I rung the charge so loud that a plain challenge was given by him and accepted in presence of the whole corps, but he departed the next morning before day without an adieu to any of his brethren. He seemed to accord with what was done during the session so fully and heartily that Mr. Otis told me that frequently it gave him surprise as he confessed he suspected his sincerity.'

'Ogden of New Jersey,' McKean adds, 'following the example of the president, declined to sign the petition though warmly solicited by himself and his own colleague. Some of the members seemed as timid as if engaged in a traitorous conspiracy'

Gordon states that 'Ruggles took leave of the members Thursday evening, the twenty fourth October and came off the next day without signing, for which he was afterwards censured by the Massachusetts Assembly and adds the remarkable statement that *Mr. Otis was on the point of trespassing in like manner: but was prevented by the influence of Mr. Thomas Lynch of the South Carolina Committee.*'

Gordon is rarely inaccurate, but this can not be credited nor is there any authority to support the statement. It was Otis who, on the 1st November laid on the table of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts the Proceedings of the Commissioners at the Congress in New York. A motion was then made, to exclude Ruggles from the vote of thanks, which does not appear on the journals. We have it however on the authority of Otis himself in a letter to William Samuel Johnson from Boston, of the 12th November 1765, 'the assembly have done us the honor fully to approve our proceedings and have voted the thanks of the house to their committee. There was a motion to except the Brigadier our notable president; but as he was absent I apologized for his strange conduct as well as I could and the proposed discrimination subsided. The people of the province will never forgive him.'

Ruggles however was not allowed to go scot free. On the 6th February the journal reports that "the House according to the order of the day, entered into the conduct and services of the committee on the late Congress at *New York*. And after a debate the question was put, *Whether the reasons*

offered by Brigadier Ruggles for his not signing the Petitions prepared by the late Congress at New York, be satisfactory to this house? It passed in the negative. Then the question was put, *whether the reasons offered by Brigadier Ruggles for leaving the late Congress before they had completed their business be satisfactory to the house?* It passed in the Negative. *Resolved unanimously* That the account given by James Otis and Oliver Partridge Esq's of their conduct at the late Congress at *New York*, is satisfactory to this house." Surely the fame of Otis needs no vindication.

Adams acknowledging McKean's letter says he knew them both, 'Ruggles was my cousin, Otis my friend and one of my patrons. I could not have drawn the character with more precision than you have done. Both high minded men, exalted souls, acting in scenes they could not comprehend and acting parts whose effects and consequences will last longer than their names will be remembered.' What words of praise he found in McKean's account of the Brigadier it is impossible to discover; but John Adams had his full share of the family trait of judging for himself and was generally in opposition to the rest of mankind.

Ogden fared no better; when McKean returned home to Newcastle through New Jersey and mentioned Ogden's refusals to sign, the popular indignation was aroused and Ogden was burned in effigy in several of the counties and lost his place as speaker of the assembly at the next meeting. Ogden, like Ruggles, menaced McKean with a challenge but neither encounter came off. McKean bears testimony to the 'zeal of the great mass of the people in the cause of America.'

In an account of the South Carolina proceedings written to the agent of the colony at London, by Christopher Gadsden, a hint is given as to the views of the different Colonies. He expresses the fear that the *charters*, 'being different in different colonies, may be the political trap that will ensnare, by at last drawing different colonies, on that account, to act differently in this great and common cause and whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorker, &c known on the continent, but all of us Americans; a *confirmation of our* essential and common rights as Englishmen may be pleaded from the *charters* safely enough, but any farther dependence on them may be fatal."

The Carolinians seemed to have been strenuously opposed to sending the Memorial to the Lords and Commons, inasmuch as the King was requested in the petition to lay the matter before Parliament and because in their opinion their rights were not held from either the Commons or the Lords. But they finally yielded because as Gadsden says *Union is most certainly all in all*. Gadsden pushed his ideas of nationality beyond any

one of the period. He expressly records his dislike of charters and fears that they might yet be the bane of America.

Having completed their business and engaging themselves not to make public their proceedings until the petition should be presented [great indecency in that respect, the newspapers remarking, having taken place the last year] the Congress adjourned, Friday, the 25th October, at half past three in the afternoon. They are quaintly described as having taken a very affectionate leave of each other; on the same day most of them set out from New York for their respective Colonies. The enterprising editor who made this report does not seem to have known of the hasty retreat of the Brigadier.

While the delegates were thus engaged, in their endeavor to reach a pacific solution of the differences with the Home Government, the mass of the people were not idle. The years which immediately followed the French War were years of great distress in the Colonies. The war period was one of abnormal and unnatural excitement in all kinds of trade which, ceasing all at once with the peace, was followed by the usual depression. In their distress and discontent the people, as much from necessity as from choice, began to look about them and to study how far they could supply themselves from their own resources independently of Great Britain. This was the beginning of Home Manufactures. In this the colonies were encouraged by the arrival of skilled artisans from England. In the London Chronicle of the 3d February, reproduced in Holt's newspaper of the 18th April, there is striking testimony to the extent of this movement. 'It is something remarkable that ever since the regulations were made last year concerning the North American trade, we hardly read a newspaper that does not mention manufacturers of one kind or another going from England Scotland or Ireland to settle in these colonies; which if true is certainly a matter that should to the last degree prove alarming to these kingdoms'; The article, which is full of sound economic arguments, closes with the warning that 'with a transfer of arts and people England would make such a transfer of strength and property as would soon throw out of her hands all wealth and power.' It was also stated, the same month, that the fourteen new manufactures lately established in North America would cause an annual loss to Great Britain of nearly half a million sterling. At the same time came news that near one hundred journeymen, 'silk throwsters,' had engaged themselves for New York and Philadelphia upon extraordinary encouragements; at both which places they are going to establish manufactures of silk. Smelters and refiners to work the mines, gauze and crape weavers of mourning goods hatters, in fact artisans of all descriptions were announced

as about to emigrate to the colonies. Such was the alarm in London that it was already proposed to bring in a bill to impose certain duties on the produce of North American Manufactures.

In May articles began to appear in the papers congratulating the public on the patriotic and frugal spirit that was beginning to reign in the Province of New York. The principal gentlemen of the city clad themselves in country manufactures or *turned clothes*. Weyman printed in large type in his paper the N. Y. Gazette the patriotic motto 'It is better to wear a homespun coat than lose our liberty'. Spinning was daily in vogue; materials being more wanting than industrious hands; a need the Farmers were endeavoring to remedy by sowing more Flax seed and keeping more sheep and finally we notice the odd statement 'that little lamb came to market as no true lovers of their country or whose sympathetic breasts feel for its distresses will buy it, and that Sassafras, Balm and Sage were greatly in use instead of Tea and allowed to be more wholesome.' Funerals and mourning which were then expensive luxuries were modified and their extravagance curtailed.

The Society for promoting Arts and Manufactures resolved to establish a Bleaching Field and to erect a Flax Spinning School where the poor children of the City should be taught the art. They also ordered large numbers of spinning wheels to be made and loaned to all who would use them. In September we find it announced that womens shoes were made, cheaper and better than the renowned Hoses', by Wells, Lasher, Bolton, and Davis, and that there was a good assortment on hand; that boots and mens shoes were made, in every quarter of the city, better than the English made for foreign sale; wove thread stockings in sundry places: the making of linen, woolen, and cotton stuffs was fast increasing; gloves, hats, carriages, harness and cabinet work were plenty. The people were now self dependent; Cards now appeared recommending that no true friend of his country should buy or import English goods, and the dry goods men were warned that their importations would lie on hand to their cost and ruin.

There being now a sufficiency of home made goods it was proposed on the 19th October to establish a market for all kinds of Home Manufactures; and a market was opened under the Exchange in Broad Street on the 23d. From the shortness of the notice the design was not sufficiently known in the country and there was neither plenty nor variety; but numbers of buyers appeared and everything went off readily at good prices.

The gentlemen Merchants of the City, as they were styled, were not behind any class in patriotism or sacrifice. A meeting was called for Monday 28th October at Jones' house in the Fields "The Freemasons Arms"

but the attendance, owing to the short notice, not being sufficient to enter upon business they were again summoned on the 30th October to meet the next day at four o'clock at Mr Burns' long room at the City Arms to fall upon such methods as they shall then think most advisable for their reciprocal interest.

On the 31st there was a general meeting of the principal Merchants at this tavern which was known under the various names of the City Arms, the Province Arms, The New York Arms, and stood on the upper corner of Broadway and Stone, now Thames street, on the site later occupied by the City Hotel.

Resolutions were adopted and subscribed by upwards of two hundred of the principal merchants; 1st, To accompany all orders to Great Britain for Goods or Merchandize of any nature kind or Quality whatever with instructions that they be not shipped unless the Stamp Act be repealed; 2nd, to countermand all outstanding orders unless on the conditions mentioned in the foregoing resolution; 3rd, Not to vend any goods sent on commission, shipped after the 1st January succeeding unless upon the same condition.

In consequence of these resolutions the Retailers of Goods subscribed a paper obliging themselves not to buy any Goods, Wares or Merchandize after the 1st January unless the Stamp Act were repealed.

This was the first of the famous Non Importation Agreement, the great commercial measure of offense and defence against Great Britain. It punished friends and foes alike and plunged a large portion of the English people into the deepest distress; at the same time it taught the Colonies the value and extent of their own resources.

The honor of this movement belongs to New York. It was credited to her by Mr. Bancroft in the original edition of his History. To the astonishment of students the "New Centenary edition" of this standard work ascribes a priority to Philadelphia. The final New York meeting was held on the 31st October as we have already stated. In a note to the History of Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, published last year the reason of this change is given. Mr Etting, the author of this volume and the late chairman of the committee on the restoration of that venerable building, caused a tablet to be set up in the vestibule with the following inscription. INDEPENDENCE FORESHADOWED by the NON IMPORTATION RESOLUTIONS of the Merchants and other Citizens—Philadelphia October 25th 1765,—New York, October 31st 1765—Boston, December 3d &c.—This tablet was pointed out to Mr Bancroft when on a visit to Philadelphia.

The original document of the Philadelphia agreement bearing the signatures of the Merchants and others is now in the archives of the Penn-

sylvania Historical Society. It had been preserved in the family of William Bradford the publisher of the Pennsylvania Journal. There is no doubt of the authenticity of the document but there is no question that the date is incorrect. There is abundant evidence to the contrary.

The original manuscript is bound in folio form and is in admirable condition. The names of the signers are on both sides of the sheet in columns. It was not dated. On the right hand upper corner of the first page there appears a date in pencil which is explained in a postscript to a letter written (May 10, 1854) by the donor, Mr. William Bradford, to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It reads as follows: *'The date of October 25, 1765 was placed on the document by my grandfather Thomas Bradford in lead pencil. I know it to be his writing. It was done at the time he gave me the paper. He was ninety years of age when he gave the instrument to me and in the full vigor of all powers of mind and body. May 8, 1835.'*

On such uncertain foundation as the recollection of an old gentleman of ninety, of an event which transpired seventy years before, when he was but twenty years of age, stands the flimsy claim of Mr. Etting to the priority of Philadelphia in this important action. Let us now examine the contemporaneous record.

In the St James Chronicle published in London December 26th 1765 there appears a letter from a merchant at Philadelphia to his London correspondent dated Philadelphia November 7th 1765 which says. "At a general meeting of the Merchants and Traders of the City it was this day resolved by them (and to strengthen their resolutions they entered into the most solemn engagements with each other) that they would not import any Goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act was repealed;" in the same column an extract from another letter dated Philadelphia November 9th has the following sentence. "It might have been deemed scandalous not to have signed the Merchants, General Resolutions and Engagements of the 7th inst. In volume II of the Upcott Clippings, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, there is a printed Extract of a letter from a clergyman in Pennsylvania dated November 7th 1765, which states, "An association was formed this day and articles signed by a very great number of the merchants and will be subscribed by all, engaging that they will not import from Britain any Goods or Merchandize till the Stamp Act is repealed." In the same volume of the same collection there is another printed extract of a letter from Philadelphia dated November 14th which contains this paragraph "At a meeting of the Merchants and Traders and also of the Retail Dealers here, they came to the same resolutions as those of New York (formerly mentioned) to counter-

mand all orders sent to England for goods, unless the Stamp Act is repealed."

The Philadelphia resolutions were printed in full for the first time in their newspaper, The Pennsylvania Gazette of the 14th November, the next issue after the meeting. The sets of resolutions differ somewhat but from their order of arrangement and the textual similarity of sundry phrases it is beyond doubt that the one is based upon the other. Those of Philadelphia being much more elaborate are clearly modelled on those of New York.

The statement of Mr Bancroft, that the New York Sons of Liberty sent expresses to invite the people of the neighboring governments to join in their league, justly confident that they would follow the example of New York, is no doubt correct.

That they did follow it in Philadelphia on the 7th November and in Boston the 9th December are matters of history which no uncertain unauthenticated date can overthrow.

In a faithful narrative of the proceedings of the North American Colonies in consequence of the Stamp Act published by Almon in 1766 it is stated that the New York Merchants passed their resolutions on the 31st October and "the inhabitants of Philadelphia followed their example; and on the 7th November the Merchants met and entered into the like engagements."

Gordon is more explicit; Under date of the 31st October, he says "the merchants of New York were foremost in adopting the non importation agreement and recommended the like conduct to the Massachusetts and the neighboring provinces in trade," Under date of the 7th November "The Merchants and traders of Philadelphia had a general meeting and entered into a similar agreement." Under date of December 9th "That the merchants and traders of Boston resolved upon a non importation." But why multiply evidence? *In justice to the truth of history, to Philadelphia as well as to New York the order of precedence on the tablet in Independence Hall should be changed or the tablet itself removed. As it stands it is untrue.*

The orders countermanding goods were at once sent out and it was estimated in November that the amount of orders withdrawn reached the sum of Seven Hundred Thousand pounds sterling.

The dreaded 8th of November the date fixed for the enforcement of the Act was now at hand—strange to say it was the anniversary of the accession of the Young Sovereign George the Third to the throne. Throughout the Colonies it was looked upon as the "last day of Liberty." Everywhere it was a day of mourning.

The Stamps reached New York later than the other Colonies. They

were brought over in the ship *Edward* which arrived on the 23rd October after a voyage of six weeks and three days from Falmouth. They had been 'shipped so privately that not a passenger in the ship knew of their being on board till a man of war here came on board to take care of their security' as soon as it was known that they were really arrived, 'all the vessels in the Harbour lowered their colours to signify *Mourning, Lamentation and Woe*' so runs the newspaper account of the next day. The boarding at the Hook was in accordance with an agreement previously made between Colden and Captain Kennedy of the *Coventry Frigate*. The most graphic account of these events is to be found in a letter of Robert R. Livingston to Governor Monckton. "When the Stamps arrived it was announced to the City by the firing of several cannon from one of the Men of War, at about 10 o'clock at night, and the next day the ship was convoyed into the harbour with a Man of War and a tender with great Parade. A vast number of people beheld this sight and were greatly enraged." The cause of this excitement was the alienation of Lieut Governor Colden from the feeling of the Province and of its Assembly. Even his Council who were all men of approved loyalty were distrusted by him; he himself said in a letter to Sir William Johnston on the 31st August that they 'had not been in good humour with him for some time past.' he adds 'I do not meet with them and there is no necessity for it' He felt his isolation to be so great that he expressed the hope to see Johnston in New York as he had 'few to advise with him in whom he could place confidence.' When the necessity came a quorum could not be brought together. To this was added the indignation of the people at his evident intention to recur to force to carry out the purposes of the Ministry. His purpose is plainly shown by his letter of the 8th July in which he requested General Gage, then in command of the British Regular troops, 'for a guard sufficient to secure the Fort against the Negroes or a Mob.' The Fort which included the Governor's House was then in a state of dilapidation. The Guns were honeycombed, the carriages rotten and there was no powder. The same month a company of the 60th Regiment arrived from Crown Point and shortly after, the relief of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from England. On the 23rd September Colden wrote to Secretary Conway that the garrison then consisted of one hundred privates besides officers and was secure against any attempt or insult that was apprehended.

There was a large restless unoccupied population in all these sea board towns; soldiers and volunteers who had made the campaigns for twenty years, sailors and adventurers; of even the better class of society, who had officered and manned the privateers which had captured many a Spanish

galleon laden with its precious freight and carried terror to the French settlements on the northern coast, in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main. Men accustomed to dangerous and desperate adventures, and it is useless to deny, not over scrupulous as to their measures, and now also freed from the control of any superior authority. The night after the arrival of the *Edward*, a written paper was posted over the city a copy of which remains preserved in the State Paper office in England of which we give a fac simile. *Pro Patria—The first man that either distributes or makes use of Stamped Paper let him take care of his House, Person & Effects—Vox Populi—We dare.*

The first difficulty the Governor met with was to obtain the stamped paper from the cargo of the *Edward*. The boxes containing it had purposely been mixed in as freight with the general cargo by the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, to prevent any intelligence of their shipment from reaching the city. As he was afraid to bring the vessel to the dock it became necessary to unload her in the stream; but no small craft could be hired to lighten the cargo to shore and Colden was compelled to call upon the Captains of the King's ships to assist in removing the cargo sufficiently to reach the packages containing the Stamped Paper. All but three were reached and safely taken to the Governor's House in the fort [they were contained in three boxes and two bales marked No 1, J McE (James McEvers) New York, and one marked J. I. (Jared Ingersoll) Connecticut]

The rage of the populace increased, though no doubt restrained by the meeting of the Congress. On the evening of the 31st October a number of sailors and others gathered in front of the City Arms; but the merchants had quietly separated. The night was an excited one but there was no serious mischief done. The authorities were in alarm; Colden having notified the Mayor, John Cruger, of whom we have spoken, 'that there was a design to bury Major James alive that day or the next and that a riot or tumultuous proceedings were intended for the same time.' Major James was an officer of the Royal Artillery and had not only been active in putting the Fort in posture for defence, but with the usual foolish brag of an English regular, he had publicly asserted that 'he would cram the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword and that he would drive them all out of town for a pack of rascals with four and twenty men.' The same day Colden, determined if possible to enforce the Act, himself took the oath, enjoined by Parliament, before the Council. His son had offered to take the office of Stamp distributor, vacant by McEvers' refusal, but his father had no power of appointment.

No Parrie

The first Man that either
distributes or makes use of Stamp
Paper, let him take Care of
his House, Person, & Effects.

No Populi;
We dare

The next day, the first of November; Colden wrote to Captain Kennedy that the Magistrates of the City had informed him that they apprehended a mob the same night and begged the favor of a reinforcement of Marines to secure the Fort. Up to this time the City, controlled by its leading people, had been in marked contrast to its eastern and southern neighbors. At last the storm broke forth with all the more fury because of its long repression. A Mob 'the most formidable imaginable' as Livingston describes it (and it passed twice by his door) began to collect in the Fields, opposite the Commons where a moveable gallows was erected on which was suspended an effigy of Governor Colden which was made much to resemble the person it was intended to represent. In his hand was a stamped paper which he seemed to court the people to receive; at his back hung a drum, on his breast a label "The rebel drummer in the year 1715," a soubriquet which had been before attached to him by the Chief Justice Horsmanden. It was a bitter satire upon the zeal with which Colden, then on a visit from New York to his home in Scotland, voluntarily took up arms against the Pretender and his own countrymen, in support of the King. By his side hung the Devil with a boot in his hand (emblematic of the King's unpopular adviser, Lord Bute) who seemed to be whispering in his ear. While the multitude gathered about these Figures a second party, with another Figure, made of paper, also representing the Governor 'in his grey hairs' seated in his chair, and carried on the head of a sailor, preceded and attended by a great number of lights, (six hundred are said to have been and on the occasion,) paraded through the principal streets of the City; as they moved pistol shots were repeatedly fired at the effigy. Passing through the 'Fly' the low meadow land through which Pearl Street ran they turned into Wall street and paid a visit to McEvers, whose residence was there, and gave him three cheers in honor of his resignation of his office as Stamp Master. The Mayor and Aldermen had met at the City Hall in Wall Street and with the aid of their Constables, with their staves, endeavored to prevent the progress of the procession and even threw down the effigy, but the leaders of the Mob, with magisterial authority and perfect good temper, ordered it to be raised again and the City authorities to stand aside at their peril. The Mob then marched to the Fort at the Foot of Broadway. The Governors residence was inside the walls, his coach house without the ramparts; this they broke open and took out his Chariot, then placing the effigy upon the coach and one of their number sitting as Coachman, whip in hand, they drew it about the town. Passing the Merchants Coffee House, which stood on the present corner of Water and Wall streets, and was a famous place of resort they were greeted with approbation and applause; thence they hur-

ried with great rapidity towards the Fields. Meanwhile the first party had begun its movement, bearing the gallows on its frame upon which were hung numbers of lanterns. When the two parties met they halted and proclamation was made that no stones should be thrown and no windows broken and no injury offered to any person, all of which was punctually obeyed. The multitude then marched to the Fort and, although aware that the guns were loaded with grape and the ramparts were lined with soldiers, moved directly to the gate; knocking their clubs against it, they demanded admittance; they called to the Sentinel to tell the Rebel drummer or Major James to give orders to fire. But for the interposition of some moderate men they no doubt would have forced the gates as there were said to be four or five hundred sailors and old soldiers among them quite accustomed to desperate undertakings. From the gate, after many insults to the Effigy, they fell back to the Bowling Green which they stripped of the palisades which surrounded it. Here they planted the Gibbet, with the effigies hanging from it, though still under the muzzles of the fort guns. In the middle of the green with the palisades and the planks of the fort fence and a Chaise, two sleighs and the stable fixtures which they had also taken from the Governors coach house, they soon reared a large pile, which being fired, soon kindled to a great Flame and reduced Coach, Gallows, Man, Devil and all to ashes.

This it is said was all that the leaders of the expedition originally intended, but while the flames were at their height a party of volunteers left the main body and, breaking through the palisades on the other side of the green repaired to the house of Major James; this was the Vaux-hall a fine residence with large Gardens which stood on the North River at the foot of Warren Street below the College grounds. It had been a popular summer resort as a public house and gardens under the direction of Sam Fraunces, the famous Black Sam of Colonial and Revolutionary history. 'The Vaux-hall had been recently fitted up in the most elegant manner; the House itself was genteely furnished with good Furniture, contained a valuable library of choice Books, Papers, Accounts, Mathematical Instruments, Draughts, rich clothes, linen and a considerable quantity of wine and liquors. In the large garden attached there were summer houses and many curiosities. The mob burst open the doors and destroyed every individual article the House contained; then making a fire outside they threw in everything that would burn; drank or destroyed all the liquor; beat to pieces all the doors, sashes, window frames and Partitions, leaving it a mere shell; then destroyed the summer houses and tore up the garden. At two o'clock they retired, carrying off with them in triumph many military trophies including the Colors of the Royal Regiment.'

This bold determined act of resistance aroused the spirit of the whole neighboring country. Numbers of people came in from all directions to 'attend the important crisis' and volunteering their assistance remained in the city. Others, satisfied that New York could take care of herself, returned home determined to maintain their Freedom in their own places of residence. News came in from a distance that thousands were ready to march upon the least requisition. The next day, Saturday, the 2d, the people collected in bodies throughout the City, which was in the greatest confusion and tumult. Colden, obstinate as he was brave, still meditated resistance but on the public report of an intention to attack the Fort that night and the receipt of menacing letters he was induced to summon his Council. They advised him to announce that he would not distribute the stamps or act further in the matter till the arrival of Governor Moore. As night approached the people grew more excited and the magistrates alarmed. The mob gathering about the fort, to pacify them Colden requested the members of the Council to make public his decision. 'This was instantly done and was received with loud huzzas by the people who quietly dispersed, apparently satisfied;' such is the language of Colden himself. Sunday, the 3d, was a day of peace and quiet in the streets but threatening letters were sent to the Custom officials, in case they should decline to clear vessels without stamped paper and a placard was put up at the Coffee House cautioning the people against the peaceable orators who had quieted them the evening before and giving notice that if resolute they would be commanded by men who had given proofs of their courage in defence of their country. This was subscribed the 'Sons of Neptune' and fixed the time for the assault for Tuesday the fifth of November. This it must not be forgotten is Guy Fawkes day, even now a time of noisy popular excitement in all English towns.

Monday the 4th, it was discovered that on the nights of Saturday and Sunday all the cannon on the Copsey Battery, in the Kings Yard and many, the private property of the merchants had been spiked that they might not fall into the hands of the people. This created distrust and again aroused the popular fury.

All who dreaded excesses now became alarmed. It was idle to attempt to avert the movement. All that the most trusted of the friends of Liberty could do was to lead it. A meeting was called at the Coffee House at ten o'clock to form a Union for the protection of property. Such was the dread of the people and the fear of the secret power which directed them under the name of 'Vox Populi' [no doubt the Sons of Liberty] that none could be found to acknowledge the necessity of the meeting. Judge Livingston himself, whom Colden charges with having been the leader of

the movement, was openly threatened for his denunciation of what he termed Mob Government.

A printed card was issued by Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Beverley Robinson and John Stevens announcing the Governors promise not to issue nor suffer any of the stamps to be issued. This card declared that the Freeman, Freeholders and inhabitants were now satisfied that the Stamps were not to be issued and determined to keep the Peace of the City at all events, except they should have other complaints.

Numbers of persons now volunteered to assist the Magistrates, but earnestly urged that the Governor would remove the Stamps from the Fort and send them on board the frigate Coventry. Colden again consulted his Council who advised him to this course. Captain Kennedy refused, assigning as his reason that he had been privately informed that the Mob designed to compel him to deliver the Stamps after they came into his possession by threatening to destroy the houses he owned in the City. He is said to have possessed more property of this character in his own and his wife's right than any other person in town. For this refusal he afterwards lost his commission. Meanwhile the soldiers were noticed to be zealously at work to put the fort in a better posture of defence. Colden called on General Gage, as military Commander in chief, to take charge of the Fort. This General Gage declined but, as he had his residence in town, ordered sixty men to be in readiness to march to his defence if threatened.

The dreaded morning of the fifth arrived. Colden confidently expected the fort to be stormed that evening; he wrote to Secretary Conway in the morning that every thing had been done in his power to give them a warm reception. A deputation of merchants called upon him but found him obstinate. The Magistrates now found it necessary to intervene. Meeting in Common Council, the Mayor presiding, the Corporation of the City resolved to request the 'Governor that for the peace of the city and to prevent the effusion of blood the stamped paper be delivered into their hands to be deposited in the City Hall and guarded by the City Watch, guaranteeing the value of such stamps as should be lost, destroyed or carried out of the province.'

The citizens gathered at the City Hall at four in the afternoon to know the result of this application. The Council readily agreed to the proposition but the obstinate Colden still refused until General Gage had also given his assent. Colden says that he finally yielded out of compassion. There seems to be little doubt that it was a bitter pill to the old gentleman. He was then in his seventy eighth year.

A message being received from the Governor that if "the Mayor and

T H E LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR declares he will do nothing in Relation to the STAMPS, but leave it to Sir HENRY MOORE, to do as he pleases, on his Arrival. Council Chamber, New-York, Nov. 2, 1765.

By Order of his Honour,

Gw. Banyar, D. Cl. Con.

The Governor acquainted Judge *Livingston*, the Mayor, Mr. *Beverly Robinson*, and Mr. *John Stevens*, this Morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that he would not issue, nor suffer to be issued, any of the STAMPS now in Fort-George.

Robert R. Livingston.

John Cruger,

Beverly Robinson,

John Stevens.

The Freeman, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of this City, being satisfied that the STAMPS are not to be issued, are determined to keep the Peace of the City, at all Events, except they should have other Cause of Complaint.

THE LEVITANT GOVERNOR
declares he will do nothing in
relation to the STAMPS, but

leave it to the House. (House in the
the place, on the 1st of March, 1862,
Climax, 1862-1863, 1864, 1865,

8: Order of the House,
Go. House, 1862-1863,
The Governor and several judges

the law, the House, the House, the House,
the House, the House, the House,
the House, the House, the House,
the House, the House, the House,
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the House, the House, the House,
the House, the House, the House,
the House, the House, the House,

John C. Brown,
George Washington,
John C. Brown,
George Washington,

The Executive, Executive, and in-
struments of the City, being notified that
the STAMPS are not to be issued, and
the Government of the State of the Ci-
ty of all States, except they should
have other Cause of Complaint.

Aldermen would attend at the Fort Gate the paper should be delivered them; they accordingly soon after accompanied with a prodigious concourse of people of all variety attended at the gate of the Fort when the stamped paper and parchment were delivered according to the stipulated terms. It was received with demonstrations of joy and after three cheers was carried to the City Hall when the people dispersed and tranquility was restored to the City.

The stamps, which were contained in seven packages, were said to have weighed one ton and a half and it was estimated that their value was about that weight in silver. Gage's moderation was in happy contrast with Colden's unbending tenacity and did much to retain the sympathies of the people for the royal authority. It endeared him personally to them and won for him from the City authorities an address of gratitude and thanks.

The violence of these proceedings alarmed the sober men in the other colonies. Even Otis who had witnessed the Boston riots was surprised and found the issue beyond his ken. He wrote to his friend Johnson on the 12th to "*pray for the peace of Jerusalem.*"

On the 13th Sir Henry Moore, the newly appointed Governor of the Province with his Lady and family, arrived on the *Minerva* after a passage of about ten weeks from Portsmouth. He was saluted with seventeen guns from the Fort and received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, in which Lieut Governor Colden and General Gage were conspicuous. After taking the oath of office before the Council, and his Commission being published at the Fort, he walked to the City Hall attended by all the Magnates of the City, where his commission was again republished amid the acclamations of the People. In the evening the City was illuminated. The same journal which announces his arrival contains notice also of the sailing for England of the Ship *Edward* which brought the odious stamps,

— "fatal and perfidious bark
Built in the eclipse and rigg'd with curses dark."

carrying as a passenger the luckless Major James. James was quite a character. He was a cultivated man. His history of the Herculean Straits, two sumptuous quarto volumes printed in London in 1771 attests his industry as well as his scholarship. He had served at Gibraltar before coming to America. There is a passage in the first volume of this work in which he laments the loss of the descriptions of the Alhambra and numerous views and manuscripts collected for his history 'destroyed at Vaux Hall on account of the stamp act.' He later returned to New York and was distinguished by his style and fashion. His magnificent black coach horses were the envy of the

town. The dedication of his history dated June 13th 1768 was from *Vauxhall* to which he returned.

Governor Moore's first efforts were turned to conciliation. He threw open the gates of the Fort to the people, as had been the custom, and in every way sought to win their favor. Old Colden looked upon this consorting with demagogues with great disgust. He charges Moore with having put on a home-spun coat, the badge of the faction, and to have been a frequenter of the Coffee House whenever he had a bit of news to retail. All this he charged to his fear of losing his bread and butter; his salary being dependent on the annual vote of the Assembly. With regard to the stamps Moore wrote to his government that he was 'obliged to suspend the power he was unable to exert.'

All the newspapers in the Colonies, which were not suspended, appeared in mourning on the first of November. In Philadelphia Franklin's paper dropped its headings for the two succeeding days, printing broadsides only. In New York Gaine and Weyman both suspended, but John Holt 'faithful among the faithless' continued his publication and printed in a card in his New York Gazette that he 'chose rather to hazard the penalties mentioned in the Stamp Act than desert the cause of Liberty and in every issue after the 31 October supplemented his title with the motto "The United Voice of all His Majesty's *free* and *loyal* Subjects in America,—LIBERTY and PROPERTY, and NO STAMPS." This was an adaptation of the old English popular cry of 'Liberty Property and no Excise.

The Sons of Liberty were now alert to prevent any surreptitious use of stamps, no matter from quarter they might come—and generally to keep alive the spirit of opposition. Discovering that the ship which brought over the Governor had a second instalment on board they required the City Authorities to take charge of them with the rest—and they were accordingly lodged in the City Hall on the 16th. On the 20th November they called a great meeting at the City Arms and adopted a vigorous representation to the representatives of the City and County in the General Assembly declaratory of their right as British subjects to trial by jury and freedom from taxation. On the 18th November, Zachariah Hood, the Maryland Stamp Master, who had fled to New York to escape resignation and had placed himself under the protection of Governor Colden following him to Flushing, was visited there and compelled to take oath before a Justice of the Peace to resign his office. The Sons of Liberty would not permit him to remain within the province on any other terms. On the 12th December a vessel arrived from Quebec with a stamped *Let-Pass* from Governor Murray and the intelligence that the Act was there in force. The pass, of V shillings,

was posted at the Coffee House and visited by throngs of people with 'dejected countenances.' This was their first view of the hated instrument. On the evening of the 17th their indignation took the usual shape of an effigy burning. A multitude of people passed through the streets bearing a gallows upon which hung three figures representing George Grenville, the author of the act, Lord Colvill who had ordered the stoppage of vessels without stamped papers and General Murray, for having executed the first stamped instrument which appeared in the City. On this occasion, for the first time, the people appeared in two bodies who seemed not in harmony with each other: the beginning of a struggle for supremacy which continued until the Revolution and reasserted itself after its close. On the 21st, the Minerva was searched by an armed delegation from the Sons of Liberty for a package of stamps intended for Connecticut. They ascertained that they had been delivered at Fort George. On the 7th January 1766 a public meeting was held at the call of the Sons of Liberty at the tavern of William Howard in the Fields. This house, the first headquarters of the Sons of Liberty, stood on the Church ground near the College facing the Commons. After passing resolutions threatening resentment upon any who should use stamped paper and resolving to preserve the peace of the City, if it could be done consistently with the security of their rights and privileges, they agreed upon regular fortnightly meetings; thus openly completing their organization. On the night of the 8th they boarded a brig from London which had ten boxes of stamped papers, intended for New York and Connecticut; opened the hatches, took out the packages and carried them in a boat to the ship yards where they made a bon fire out some tar barrels and destroyed the whole. On the 17th every patriotic American was requested to wear crapes in their hats and the ladies black ribbons and handkerchiefs on account of the death of the Duke of Cumberland. On the 3d January, Capt Chambers received public censure for venturing to take in eight packages of stamps in England although they were delivered here to the City authorities. On the 4th February the Sons of Liberty appointed a permanent Committee to correspond with similar organizations in the neighboring colonies. On the 13th February, hearing of the existence in the City of stamped passes for the Mediterranean, they assembled at the Coffee House where all these passes whether filled or blanks were delivered and burned in the presence of several thousand spectators. On the 21st April the ship Prince George arrived from Bristol with a large mixed cargo, imported contrary to the general agreement. The cargo was taken possession of by the Sons of Liberty and branded with the New York Arms for reshipment to Bristol.

The attitude of the other Colonies being equally firm and Pitt having

from the beginning of the struggle espoused the cause of the colonies and declared his joy at their resistance, the ministry were compelled to yield. When early in the year petitions poured in upon Parliament from all the manufacturing towns showing the distress of the population, one half of which was out of employment and at the point of starvation, the ministry led by Rockingham determined to repeal the act.

The petitions of the Congress were not admitted, as emanating from a body not called together by Royal authority, but others were received in great number. Franklin was called before the Committee of the House of Commons and gave an account of the condition of the Colonies remarkable for its precision and comprehensiveness. He clearly showed that there was not money enough in the colonies to pay the stamped duty, that there was no single article consumed in the Colonies that they could not either do without or make themselves and that the expenses of the late war had left them in a condition where every additional restriction upon Commerce was an intolerable burthen.

The bill to repeal the Stamp Act was introduced into the Commons and passed the 21st February by a large majority. From the Commons it went up to the Lords where, in spite of the declaration that the King was against a repeal, it was likewise passed and on the 18th received the formal assent of the King. How it was coupled with a renewed declaration of the Right of the Parliament to tax the Colonies it is not necessary here to relate. The Colonies resisted not the declaration but the enforcement.

There was great joy in London; as the King went up to the House of Peers, to give the Royal Assent, he was detained several hours by a vast concourse of applauding people; couriers at once carried the news to the sea-ports and vessels which had been detained for months set sail for America; a swift ship which had been kept in waiting was despatched with orders to make the first port possible on the Continent. The next day great numbers of the American merchants went to the House of Peers to express their satisfaction and gratitude. There were over fifty coaches in the procession.

The news reached New York on the afternoon of Tuesday, May the 20th, simultaneously by expresses from Boston and Philadelphia. 'Though it had been long expected, a sudden joy was diffused through all ranks of people in the whole City—people shook hands in the street, the bells were set to ringing and continued till late at night—and renewed the next day till nine o'clock. The Sons of Liberty had a meeting the same evening and arranged for a great celebration the next day. At one o'clock there was a great gathering at the Fields where a Royal Salute of twenty-one cannon

was fired; a numerous body dined at Howard's; when every loyal toast was saluted by seven guns. At night there were two great bonfires in the fields and the whole city more generally and beautifully illuminated than ever before.'

On the anniversary of the King's birthday the 4th of June, there was a similar outburst of popular rejoicing; 'there was a great barbecue on the Common where two fat oxen were roasted; the guns on the battery and ships fired royal salutes; a great dinner was given to the Governor to which three hundred and forty people, sat down when forty one toasts were drank with grateful hearts; and the day closed with a general illumination.'

The gratitude of the people to Pitt, who was the idol of the Colonies was everywhere displayed—from Massachusetts to Georgia his name was a household word. In May, South Carolina took the lead in a practical demonstration, ordering the portraits of her Commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress at the public expense and a marble statue of Pitt. This example was followed in New York, the citizens of which at a large meeting held on the 23d June petitioned the Assembly to erect a statue of the great Commoner. The wish was complied with and a statue ordered from Wilmot of London. The two statues were similar and by the same artist.

The one designed for New York was set up on the 7th September 1770 at the intersection of Wall and Smith now William street. It was injured during the revolutionary war by the British troops and now stands headless in the refectory of the New York Historical Society, a melancholy evidence of the vicissitudes of popularity. It would be a grateful act in some public spirited citizen to restore this Statue. It will be all the more becoming, now that in the rage for novelty the City authorities have attempted to take from one of her streets the name of the great statesman whom at one period every citizen delighted to honor as the Champion of American Liberty.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

THE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS 1765

NEW YORK, October 31st

[*The N. Y. Gazette Nov. 7. John Holt*]

At a general Meeting of the Merchants of New York, trading to Great Britain, at the House of Mr. George Burns, of the said City, Inn-holder, to consider what was necessary to be done in the present Situation of Affairs with Respect to the STAMP ACT, and the melancholy State of the N. American Commerce, so greatly restricted by the

Impositions and Duties established by the late Acts of Trade: They came to the following Resolutions, viz.

FIRST, that in all Orders they send out to Great-Britain, for Goods or Merchandise of any Nature, Kind, or Quality whatsoever, usually imported from Great-Britain, they will direct their Correspondents not to ship them, unless the STAMP ACT be repealed. It is nevertheless agreed, that

all such Merchants as are Owners of, and have Vessels already gone, and now cleared out for Great Britain, shall be at Liberty to bring back in them on their own Accounts, Crates and Casks of Earthen Ware, Grindstones, Pipes, and such other bulky Articles as Owners usually fill up their vessels with.

SECONDLY, It is further unanimously agreed that all orders already sent Home, shall be countermanded by the very first Conveyance; and the Goods and Merchandise thereby ordered, not to be sent, unless upon the condition mentioned in the foregoing Resolution.

THIRDLY, It is further unanimously agreed, that no Merchant will vend any Goods or Merchandise sent upon Commission from Great Britain that shall be shipped from thence after the first Day of January next, unless upon the condition mentioned in the first Resolution.

FOURTHLY and lastly it is unanimously agreed, that the foregoing Resolutions shall be binding until the same are abrogated at a general Meeting hereafter to be held for that purpose

In Witness whereof we have hereunto respectively subscribed our Names

[This was subscribed by upwards of Two Hundred principal Merchants]

In Consequence of the foregoing Resolutions, the Retailers of Goods, of the City of New York, subscribed a Paper in the Words following viz.

WE the under-written, Retailers of Goods, do hereby promise and oblige ourselves not to buy any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises of any Person or Persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain, after the first Day of January next, unless the STAMP ACT shall be repealed. . . .
As Witness our Hands, Oct. 31, 1765

PHILADELPHIA November 7.

[Pennsylvania Gazette Nov. 14. Franklin & Hall]

The Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia, taking into their Consideration the melancholy State of the N. American Commerce in general, and the distressed Situation of the Province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree,

THAT the many difficulties they now labour under as a Trading People, are owing to the Restrictions, Prohibitions, and ill advised Regulations made in the several Acts of the Parliament of

Great-Britain lately passed, to regulate the Colonies; which have limited the Exportation of some Part of our Country Produce, increased the Cost and Expense of many Articles of our Importation, and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with Specie enough *even* to pay the Duties imposed on us, much less to serve as a Medium of our Trade.

THAT this Province is heavily in Debt to Great-Britain for the Manufactures, and other Importations from thence, which the Produce of our Lands have been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best Markets was allowed of, and such Trades open as supplied us with Cash, and other Articles, of immediate Remittance to Great Britain.

THAT the late unconstitutional Law (the Stamp-Act) if carried into Execution in this Province, will further tend to prevent our making those Remittances to Great Britain for Payment of old Debts, or Purchase of more Goods, which the Faith subsisting between the Individuals trading with each other requires; and therefore, in Justice to ourselves, to the Traders of Great-Britain, who usually give us Credit, and to the Consumers of British Manufactures in this Province, and Subscribers hereto, have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following Resolutions and Agreements, in Hopes that their Example will stimulate the good People of this Province to be frugal in their Use and Consumption of all Manufactures excepting those of America, and lawful Goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there, whilst the Necessities of our Country are such as to require it; and in Hopes that their Brethren the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, will find their own Interest so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurred on to befriend us from that Motive, if no other should take Place.

FIRST. It is unanimously Resolved and Agreed, that in all orders any of the Subscribers to this Paper may send to Great Britain for Goods, they shall and will direct their Correspondents not to ship them until the STAMP-ACT is repealed.

SECONDLY. That all those amongst the Subscribers that have already sent Orders to Great Britain for Goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same, until the STAMP-ACT is repealed. Except such Merchants as are Owners

of Vessels already gone, or now cleared out for Great Britain, who are Liberty to bring back in them, on their own Accounts, Coals, Casks of Earthen-Ware, Grindstones, Pipes, Iron Pots, Empty Bottles, and such other bulky Articles, as owners usually fill up their ships with, but no Dry-Goods of any Kind, except such Kind of Dye Stuffs and Utensils necessary for carrying on Manufactures, that may be ordered by any Person.

THIRDLY. That none of the Subscribers hereto, shall or will vend any Goods or Merchandizes whatever, that shall be shipped them on Commission from Great Britain, after the First of January next, unless the STAMP-ACT *be repealed*.

FOURTHLY. That these Resolves and Agreements shall be binding on all and each of us the Subscribers, who do hereby, each and every Person for himself, upon his Word of Honour, agree, that he will strictly and firmly adhere to, and abide by, every Article from this time, until the First Day of May next, when a Meeting of the Subscribers shall be called, to consider whether the further Continuance of this Obligation be then necessary.

FIFTHLY. It is agreed that if Goods of any Kind do arrive from Great Britain at such Time, or under such Circumstances, as to render any Signer of this Agreement suspected of having broke his Promises, the Committee now appointed shall enquire into the Premises, and if such suspected Person refuses, or cannot give them Satisfaction, the Subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent Measures to discountenance and prevent the Sale of such Goods, until they are released from this Agreement by mutual and general Consent

LASTLY. As it may be necessary that a Committee of the Subscribers be appointed to wait on

the Traders of this City, to get this present Agreement generally subscribed the following Gentlemen are appointed for that Purpose, viz; Thomas Willing and Samuel Mifflin Esquires; Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rhea, William Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller, and Abel James

[The above is signed by above Four Hundred Traders]

We the Retailers of the City of Philadelphia, at a General Meeting, taking into Consideration the melancholy State of the North-American Commerce in general, and the distressed Situation of the Province of Pennsylvania in particular, occasioned by the late unconstitutional Law (the STAMP-ACT) if carried into Execution, do hereby voluntarily and unanimously promise and oblige all and each of us, upon our Word of Honour, not to buy any Goods, Wares or Merchandizes of any Person or Persons whatsoever, that shall be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of January next, unless that unconstitutional Law (the STAMP-ACT) shall be repealed; excepting such Goods and Merchandizes as shall be approved and allowed by the Committee of Merchants nominated and appointed for that Purpose, and all lawful Goods coming directly from Ireland, manufactured there.

The above to be binding on us till the First Day of May next, at which Time we propose another General Meeting, to consider whether the further Continuance of this Obligation be necessary. As Witness our Hands &c.

The following Gentlemen are appointed to wait on the Retailers of this City to get the above Agreement generally subscribed to, viz, John Ord, Francis Wade, Joseph Deane, David Dashler, George Bartram, Andrew Dox, George Schloffer, James Hunter, Thomas Paschall, Thomas West and Valentine Charles.

ERKURIES BEATTY

PAYMASTER OF THE WESTERN ARMY 1786-1788

Major Erkuries Beatty was born October 9, 1759. He was a son of Rev'd Charles Beatty, who emigrated from Ireland to America in 1729, and served as chaplain to the Provincial Forces of Pennsylvania, under the command of Dr. Benj. Franklin, in 1756, and in the same capacity in Col. Clapham's regiment at Fort Augusta, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania.

His father coined his name thus: *e, from; Kurios, the Lord*, and it was variously spelled as Erkurios, Erkurius, and finally rested at Erkuries.

Erkuries was apprenticed to a gentleman at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, when the war broke out, and though but a boy, served with the Jersey troops; was at Long Island, August 29, 1776, under General Sterling, and acted as sergeant at White Plains, October 28th. He was commissioned an ensign in the 4th Pennsylvania, Lt. Col. Wm. Butler commanding, rank dating from January 3, 1777; promoted 1st Lieutenant May 2d, and participated in the battle of Brandywine, September 11th. He was badly wounded at Germantown, October 4th, but rejoined his regiment at Valley Forge in January, 1778. He was at Monmouth, June 28th, and shortly after went with his regiment to Schoharie, New York. He was with Van Schaick's expedition against the Onondagas, April 18, 1779; followed the fortunes of the 4th Penn. under General James Clinton and General Sullivan in Sullivan's campaign. In the battle at Newtown, August 29, 1779; wintered at Morristown, 1780 and 1781.

When the Pennsylvania Line was reorganized after the revolt in January, 1781, he went south with it under General Wayne. Joined La Fayette at Raccoon Ford on the Rappahannock, June 10, 1781. Fought at James-town, July 6th, and was present at Cornwallis' surrender, October 19th. He was then detached to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to guard the prisoners, and finally mustered out of service, November 3, 1783.

After the war he acted as clerk in the War Office, settling the accounts of the Pennsylvania Line, and obtained a 1st Lieutenant's commission in the regular army July 24, 1784. In 1786, '87, and '88 he was acting paymaster of the Western Army. In 1789 and 1790 commandant at Fort St. Vincent (now Vincennes). He was a major under General St. Clair, but was not at the defeat, November 4, 1791, having been sent back with a detachment to Fort Jefferson.

He resigned during Wayne's campaign, January 11, 1793, being dissatisfied with the appointment of Col. James Wilkinson as Brigadier over Col. Hamtramck. Went to Princeton, New Jersey, to reside, where he died February 23, 1823, and is buried in the cemetery at that town.

Before he left the army (September 29, 1787, as appears in his journal), he met at Philadelphia a Miss Ewing,* whom he describes "as a very sprightly, interesting, and attractive young lady, with beautiful black eyes, and sings a good song." But she was affianced to a brother officer, and he seems for years to have thought no more of it. He however renewed his acquaintance with her when the widow of Major Ferguson, who was killed at St. Clair's defeat, and they were married February 21, 1799. His only surviving son, Charles Clinton Beatty, D.D., is the well-known founder of the Steubenville, (Ohio), Female Seminary, and President of the Board of Trustees of the Western Theological Seminary at Alleghany, Pennsylvania, to the building and endowment funds of which latter institution Dr. Beatty and his wife have contributed the munificent sum of \$92,000.

Major Beatty had three brothers, who were officers in the Revolution :

1. Major John Beatty (late General John Beatty of Trenton, New Jersey), 5th Pennsylvania Batt., Col. Robert Magaw. Captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, afterwards Commissary of Prisoners, etc. He died at Trenton, May 30, 1826, aged 78.

2. Lieutenant Charles Clinton Beatty, 2d Lt. Capt. Thomas Church's company, Col. Anthony Wayne's 4th Pennsylvania Batt. He served during the campaign of 1776 in Canada and on Lake Champlain. This battalion re-enlisted as the 5th Pennsylvania, Continental Line, under Col. Francis Johnston (Col. Wayne having been promoted Brigadier), and was being recruited in Chester county when, on the 17th of February, 1777, Lt. Beatty was killed by the accidental discharge of a fusée in the hands of a brother officer (Col. Caleb North, the last surviving officer of the Pennsylvania Line, who died at Coventryville, Chester county, November 7, 1840, aged 88 years).

3. Surgeon Reading Beatty (ensign of the 5th Pennsylvania Batt., also captured at Fort Washington subsequently), of Proctor's 4th Regiment, Pennsylvania Artillery, Com'd 10th February, 1781. He died at Newtown, Bucks Co., October 29, 1831.

JOHN B. LINN

* "Susanna, daughter of Mackell and Mary Ewing, who was said to have been both a beauty and a belle."—American Hist. Record, vol. 2, p. 218, notice of Major Wm. Ferguson.

NARRATIVE OF
THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE

TRANSLATED FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MS

BY E. W. BALCH

Part IV

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This interview excited the curiosity of both armies. It passed with a most perfect propriety on the part of both gentlemen. Mr. Washington treated Mr. Gates with a politeness which had a frank and easy air, whilst the other responded with that shade of respect which was proper towards his general, but at the same time with a self-possession, a nobility of manner and an air of moderation which convinced me that Mr. Gates was worthy of the successes he had gained at Saratoga, and that his defeats had only rendered him more worthy of respect, because of the courage with which he bore them. Such also was the opinion, as far as I could gather, that other gentlemen, both capable and disinterested, entertained concerning Mr. Gates.

Mr. Washington would have done himself infinite honor, if after the affair of Camden, he had left the Congress to nominate a successor to Mr. Gates, and if, instead of selecting Mr. Greene, had asked that Mr. Gates should be continued in the command of this army, and given an opportunity to repair his misfortunes. But it must so be that every great man is bound by some little thread to the weaknesses of humanity. He had been very jealous of the success of Gates at Saratoga. The latter had been a little too vain glorious. Certain of Gates' flatterers, amongst whom figured

our compatriot, M. Conway, had fomented on both sides these seeds of jealousy between the two generals. Mr. Washington, when he became as it were after a fashion the judge of his rival, allowed himself to indulge in a little movement of vengeance, to which he was justified by the event itself (Camden), and he made an excellent choice in selecting General Greene. In fact, if he did not take the most noble line of conduct, he did nothing that could be censured.

It may be easily believed that from the moment I joined the army I did my very best to discover if there was a chance of terminating this campaign in an agreeable way, that is to say, in a movement against the enemy. M. de Chastellux told me he believed that there was nothing to hope for in that direction. He intimated to me there was at the moment an idea of embarking our army upon the squadron of M. de Vandreuil and he colored it with a hope apparently reasonable of our taking part in the capture of Jamaica.

This project of embarkation, which did not suit the ideas of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and which displeased General Washington, was not long kept a secret in the army. We quitted our camp the 12th of October, to march to our sea-side destination.

In seven days we arrived at Hartford, a town of some consideration, situated on the Connecticut river. There we remained four or five days, and it was at this place that M. de Rochambeau publicly announced his resolution of returning to France with M. Chastellux, the Intendant,* and a large part of his staff.

M. de Vandreuil was not ready, be-

cause the navy never is, and he insisted that the army should not arrive at Boston until the moment when it could be embarked.

These continual delays vexed M. de Rochambeau, who seeing the season advancing, found it very disagreeable to expose his troops to the ice and snow, and subject them to the sufferings of the cold before going on board. Nevertheless, as it was embarrassing to go into cantonment, he resolved to move his army as far as Providence, three days march from Boston, to camp there in the neighborhood of a forest, and thus to ameliorate the rigors of the season by glorious fires and good barracks.

In consequence we quitted East Hartford the fourth of November, but as my presence was by no means necessary during this march, I obtained from M. de Rochambeau leave to go to New London, scene of the cruelties of Arnold, and from thence to Newport.

In consequence I left with the Comte de Ségur, M. de Vauban and M. de Champeenez. We travelled about fifty miles before arriving at New London, but passing through such a lovely country, and with such delicious weather, we had no time to feel fatigued.

A notable thing is that one finds upon this route three villages, distant each about one league from the other, which by the beauty of their charming situation on the banks of the River called the Thames, which passes by New London; by the neatness and regularity of their houses, by their abundant population, are altogether remarkable. All three are of the same name, and are called the three Norwiches.

New London, situated on the Thames at about a mile from its mouth, where it empties into the sea, was a rich and very commercial city before its devastation by Arnold. But a large part of its houses were burnt by that General, and the warehouses of the most important merchants were pillaged or destroyed, and thereby many of them reduced to downright poverty. New London itself is situated very advantageously as a commercial port. Its harbor was filled with well freighted ships and privateers when the traitor Arnold arrived there. Many of them were pillaged, and the others burned.

At about a quarter of a league from New London, on the two banks of the Thames, are situated two forts, of which one is quite extensive and susceptible of good defense. That on the eastern bank is pretty well mounted with artillery.

The day's journey from New London to Newport is heavy work. It is about fifty-five miles of bad road, besides which there are two ferries to pass. The first is of no consequence.

The second, called Conanicut Ferry, separates the mainland from the island of Newport. It is a good league wide and not always safe. We arrived there at night. The business of embarking the horses, and the anxiety of fear of some of the passengers as the bark rolled to and fro, was not at all amusing, especially at night. We passed about an hour in this critical fashion, and at last the "pilot" finished by striking a sand bank about two hundred steps from the place where we should have landed. All the passengers, masters and servants were

compelled to work so as to disengage us. We jumped into the water where it was about two feet deep, and thus it was that we made our entrance into Newport; that charming place, regretted by the whole army, for that is the way in which everybody speaks of it.

As my companions and myself entered this town with all these agreeable impressions, we immediately set ourselves to work to make acquaintance with its society.

That same evening M. Vauban introduced us at the house of Mr. Champlain,[†] well enough known to us for his wealth, but much more known in the army for the lovely face of his daughter. She was not in the drawing-room at the moment of our arrival, but she appeared an instant after. It is useless to say that we examined her with attention, which was to treat her handsomely, for the result of our observation was to find that she had beautiful eyes and an agreeable mouth, a lovely face, a fine figure, a pretty foot, and the general effect altogether attractive. She added to all these advantages that of being dressed and coiffé with taste, that is to say in the french fashion, besides which she spoke and understood our language.

We rendered to her charms the tribute of admiration and polite civility due to them, and then we hastened off for the purpose of saying just about the same thing concerning the Misses Hunter, who were her rivals in beauty and in reputation.

The elder, without being regularly handsome, had what one might call a noble appearance and an air of aristocratic birth. Her physiognomy is intel-

lectual and refined. There was grace in all her movements. Her toilette was quite as finished as that of Mademoiselle Champlain, but she is not altogether as fresh, in spite of what Fersen said.

The younger sister, Nancy Hunter, is not quite so stylish looking, but she is a perfect rosebud. Her character is gay, a smile always upon her countenance, with lovely teeth, a thing seldom met with in America.

Enchanted with these first specimens of Newport, we returned home at an early hour. Vauban promised us something even better for the next day, and he kept his word. Without saying where he was conducting us, he took us to a house where an old gentleman, very serious, very silent, received us without taking off his hat, bade us sit down without compliments, and only answered in monosyllables to the observations which we addressed to him.

This first interview seemed to us very queer, and we began to suspect that we must be in the house of a Quaker. Just then the door opened, and in came the very goddess of grace and beauty. It was Minerva herself, who had exchanged her warlike vestments for the charms of a simple shepherdess. She was the daughter of a Shaking Quaker. Her name was Polly Lawton. According to the custom of her sect, when she spoke to us she used "thou," but with a grace and simplicity only to be compared to that of her costume. This was a species of English gown, pretty close to the figure, white as milk, an apron of the same whiteness, a fichu very full and firmly fastened. Her headdress was a simple little cap of very fine muslin, plaited and

passed around the head, which allowed only half an inch of hair to be visible, but which had the effect of giving to Polly the air of a Holy Virgin.

She seemed to be in no respect conscious of her charms. She spoke with ease, and "thoued" like the Quakers the most unaffected and polite remarks. She enchanted all of us, which she discovered, and did not appear dissatisfied at pleasing those that she kindly called her friends.

I acknowledge that this attractive Polly appeared to me the most exquisite work of Nature, and that every time her image occurs to me I am tempted to write a big book against the dressing, the theatrical graces, and the coquetishness of certain rich ladies much admired in the world of fashion.

Polly had a sister dressed like herself, and of a very agreeable appearance, but one had not the time to look at her while her elder sister was present.

Miss Brinley, Miss Sylvan and some other ladies to whom I was introduced after having quitted the lovely Quakeress, convinced me that Newport possessed more than one rosebud.

All these young people appeared to regret very much the absence of our army. They declared that since the French had left there had been no more amusements nor conversation parties. This little complaint decided de Ségur, de Vauban and myself, and some other young gentlemen of our army, to give a ball to these disconsolate fair ones. M. de Soutaux took charge of the preparations.

We met with neither reluctance nor refusals when we spoke of dancing. Our company was composed of some twenty

young ladies, some of them married, all beautifully dressed, and all appearing to be pleased. We toasted very gaily at supper, and everything passed off very satisfactorily.

The second day after this little entertainment we left, so as to rejoin the army at Providence. We quitted Newport with great regret, but not without first having kissed the hand of Polly Lawton.

I do not mention the military works which the French army constructed around Newport, nor the defense of the harbour, because I have treated those matters very carefully in another place.

To go from Newport to Providence one has to pass two ferries; the first, called Tyverton, is sufficiently formidable and rather dangerous in heavy winds. The other, Bristol, is about a quarter of a league broad. Except the ferries the road is very agreeable. The distance from Newport to Providence is about thirty miles.

Providence is situated in a forest, and the river Pautucket or Narankas, which passes through it, is wide and navigable. It seems to have about eighteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, amongst whom are some quite rich men, who have extensive commercial transactions.

The army was camped on the road to Boston about a league from Providence, in some fields which it had occupied the preceding year. The weather became exceedingly rough and the troops suffered a great deal from the almost continual rain and snow.

M. de Rochambeau, much vexed with the perpetual delays of the fleet, nevertheless behaved at Providence like a thoroughly good French General; that is

to say, in order to divert his army and gratify the ladies of the city, he gave some balls in a handsome and large public apartment intended for such purposes.

It was at the first of these balls that I saw for the first time the Misses Brown, sisters of the Governor of the city. I do not give their portraits here because I do not want to turn all the men crazy and render all the women jealous. I will content myself merely by saying that Clarice is awkward in comparison with the elder of the two, Nancy Brown; and that Betsy, the youngest sister, after a most agreeable conversation, one which showed that she had been well educated, appeared greatly surprised when she was told that amongst her many advantages not the least of them was that of having great black eyes with eye lashes so long as to half hide them, a thing both rare and lovely. She naively acknowledged that she had never imagined that this was a beauty, and it is quite certain that it was for her a discovery.

We left Providence the first of December to go to Boston, where we arrived on the third. The army was at once embarked on board of the different vessels intended for their transport.

M. de Rochambeau had left his army on the 28th at Providence to go to Philadelphia, and the Baron de Viomenil remained as our General.

I shall not describe here the town of Boston because I have already done so in another place. I will merely say a little something about its society and the more important people whom I met.

The first person to whom I was introduced was Mr. Hancock, Governor of the town. He is a gentleman who did

not seem to possess either genius or talent, but who by his zeal for freedom, by the pecuniary sacrifices which he made to forward the revolution, and by the popularity which he possesses, plays a very important part and will be highly praised in his country's history.

Mr. Adams was the second acquaintance which I made at Boston. His name has been well known since the beginning of the revolution. By his eloquence and his ardor he often carried the most important resolutions in Congress. He is rather more than sixty years of age, but with a bright eye and spiritual physiognomy, and appeared to me to merit the consideration accorded to him. He is often reproached for a love of flattery, but where is the man of talent who is destitute of vanity.

The Rev. Dr. Cooper, famous for his bold sermons, his discourses purely political, although delivered in the pulpit and in the church, his supple, insinuating and crafty spirit, and also his extensive and varied knowledge, is one of the men whose character and deportment struck me the most forcibly at Boston. His conversation is interesting, and although he expresses himself with difficulty in French, he understands it perfectly well, knows all our best authors, and has sometimes cited, even in the pulpit, passages from Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau. Dr. Cooper is himself the author of several esteemed works. He writes sprightly verses, and carries certainly much cleverness under the immense wig of a clergyman, which he wears bigger and more heavily powdered than any of his brethren. He has his enemies among the clergy as well as the laity, and he is

generally accused of a ductility quite macchiavellian.

Let us speak a little of the ladies, for that is always an important matter for a Frenchman, and with my pretensions to be a rose-colored philosopher it would be unpardonable in me to neglect such a charming subject.

Boston being a very commercial town in time of peace, necessarily possesses a large number of well-to-do people and a certain number of rich merchants. Luxury was introduced there some time before it was into any other city in America, and there it prospered so well that this city has thereby become one of those best for society and good living. One sees there less of the rather gross rusticity of American manners. They have capital wines and also napkins. At table everybody drinks out of his own glass, and the plates are changed as often as can be desired. It is in fact downright magnificence.

The women are expensively dressed, but without taste. They know not how to dress their hair. They dance badly, although they love the exercise dearly. Some of them are pretty good musicians, and play agreeably on several instruments. Their manner of singing is rather monotonous. It is a mixture of the English and Italian mode, and is quite pleasant when the voice is agreeable.

After this little abridgement of what I may call the moral qualities of the Boston women—I do not speak of their virtue—I am going to say a word about their physical charms, and according to my habit I will make a little list of the women whom I know at Boston.

The prettiest of them without doubt is Mrs. Ferris. Her complexion is white and rose, and her figure is worthy of a full length portrait. She is naturally very sweet tempered, and has been very lately married.

Mrs. Smith, wife of a rich merchant, has one of the most agreeable houses in Boston. She often gives capital dinners. She likes attentions, and has always found us Frenchmen disposed to render them to her, because certainly, although not so handsome, she resembles the Queen of France. Mrs. Smith is considered very affable.

Mrs. Tudor, wife of a Boston lawyer, is amiable, and speaking French well could not fail to have admirers, and those, some of our most distinguished men. At their head was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was devotedly given to kissing the hand of Mrs. Tudor.

M. de Paroys, nephew of the Admiral, was even more aspiring than his uncle, and he had great help because of his talent for the harp, the favorite instrument of Mrs. Tudor; but as they never seemed to agree, what shall we suppose? Nothing special for M. de Paroys.

This same Mrs. Tudor was the author of some pleasant verses addressed to the Queen of France, of which M. de Chastellux was the bearer. They were well written and the idea was happy.

It is only to be regretted that the Admiral and the other officers whose good qualities are mentioned towards the end, should not have made themselves a little more amiable during the last fifty years.

Mrs. Temple, the wife of a famous opponent of Dr. Cooper, Mrs. Norton, Miss

Debloys, Miss Polly Seiff are all pretty women, but I did not know them well enough to speak of them.

The day before Christmas we hoisted sail for a destination known only to the Admiral and Baron de Viomenil.† The season was very far advanced, and we encountered a gale so strong that it seemed as if the whole fleet would be wrecked in French Bay. It is true that we owed in part this adventure to the somewhat daring resolution of M. de Vaudreuil to cruise before Cape Ann to await his brother the Comte de Vaudreuil, who intended to quit Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to join us with the *Auguste*, of eighty guns, which he commanded, and the *Pluton*, of seventy-four.

The bad weather compelled our Admiral to renounce this meeting. It also helped to rid him of a convoy of about thirty merchant vessels, which he intended to escort. They left us during the night and we never saw them again. Some of these ships carried troops, which could not be embarked in the vessels of war. The English captured more than half of these ships, amongst them one named the *Allégiance*, on board of which were two companies of the regiment of Saintonge.

The fleet of the Marquis de Vaudreuil at its departure from Boston was composed of the following vessels, that is to say :

Le Triomphant, 80 guns, M. le Mqs. de Vaudreuil; *La Couronne*, 80 guns, M. de Milton; *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, 80 guns, M. de Charitte; *L'Hercule*, 74 guns, M. le Chevalier de Brasse; *Le Neptune*, 74 guns, M. d'Alain; *La Bourgogne*, 74 guns, M. de Champmartin; *Le Northumber-*

land, 74 guns, M. de Médine; *Le Brave*, 74 guns, M. d'Amblesmont; *Le Citoyen*, 74 guns, M. Héty; *L'Amazone*, 32 guns, M. de Gaston; *La Néréide*, 32 guns, M. le Chevalier de Laiguille; *Le Souverain*, 74 guns, M. le Commandeur de Glaudevez.

The 24th of December the French fleet, composed of the twelve vessels above mentioned, quitted North America.

* M. de Tarlé—see Blanchard's Journal, p. 179.

† Mr. Champlain was an accomplished gentleman, and his house was the resort of all cultivated visitors to Newport. His daughter was highly accomplished, very beautiful and qualified in every way to assist her parents in entertaining the French officers and others who visited them. When the ball was given to Rochambeau and Washington, the latter was asked to open the ball, and he selected Miss Champlain for his partner, and as he stepped with her upon the floor the French officers took the instruments from the musicians and played "A Successful Campaign," the name of a dance then in high favor, and which had been selected by Miss Champlain when asked to dance.

‡ The destination of which the Prince de Broglie speaks as being unknown except to the Admiral and M. de Viomenil proved to be Spanish America, with orders to await the allied fleet at Porto Cabello. It was from this port that the Prince started on a visit to Carracas, of which he gives a narrative not presented here. E. W. B.

DIARY OF

MAJOR ERKURIES BEATTY

PAYMASTER IN THE WESTERN ARMY

MAY 15, 1786, TO JUNE 5, 1787

Part IV

October 17—Arrived at New York the day after Maj. North. The next day delivered my public dispatches and layed my business before the Secretary at war, which was a demand for money for the

troops. The public treasury exceeding poor indeed, and very little prospect of our getting our wants supplied. Stayed here about 10 days, then returned to Philadelphia with Gen Knox, where he received the clothing for the Regt which was making, and made some alterations in the uniform. Gen. Knox staid here only two days, and went back to New York, without any thing being done about money, and ordered me to stay here till I would hear further from him. He wrote to me in about ten days, saying the only prospect I had of obtaining money was from Pennsylvania, and if I could get them to accept of an order from the Board of Treasury, to come to New York, and he would procure it for me— With a great deal of difficulty, I prevailed upon the State to accept an order for 12,000 dollars, to be paid as soon as possible— Went on to New York, and after making the necessary arrangements, which took me ten or twelve days, got orders from the Board of Treasury on Thos Smith, Esq, Loan office of Penna, for 12,000 dollars. Returned to Philadelphia with them, and as Mr Smith had no money, transferred the orders on D. Rittenhouse, Esq, Treasurer of Penna; he having no specie in the treasury, gave me orders on several County treasurers, to the amount of 8,000 dollars, as that was all he could then possibly pay— With these orders I set out to the country, going first to Eastown in Northampton company, staying all night with my brother Reading on the way; met with very poor success; from here went to Reading, in Berks County, then to Lebanon, in Dauphin County; then to Lancaster, so to Yorktown, and sent from there my orders I

had on Cumberland County to Carlise, then returned to Philadelphia, calling at Chester County on my way— In all these places got but very little money, and that chiefly in paper, but gave orders to have the several sums made up as soon as possible— When I returned, made my report to Mr. Rittenhouse, and wrote to Genl Knox my poor success, and that I had no prospect of getting any thing but paper money, which I thought would not answer—he gave me orders to take any thing I could get, and discount such a part of it for specie as would pay the troops one month's pay at least—took another trip to the County treasurers in very cold weather. I went out several times afterwards to the nearest treasurers, and in a length of time, from one person or another, obtained 8,000 dollars, about 3,000 of which I converted into specie, and 1,000 was in a bill of credit on the Contractor to answer for the paying officers and soldiers debts due him. The remaining orders for 4,000 I left with Mr. Rittenhouse, to be paid the 1st of April next in any money he will receive. Made myself ready to set out for the Westward—having gone through as troublesome a piece of business as ever I undertook.

January 27, 1787—Set out for Pittsburgh, in company with Mr. Lacasagne. Roads very bad; received my money from the Cumberland County treasurer as I passed thro', and at Fort Lyttleton Mrs. Genl Butler and her brother, Mr Smith, overtook us on their way to Pittsburgh to see Genl R Butler; this augmentation made our party very agreeable the remainder of the way, and we arrived at Pittsburgh on the evening of—

February 6—Where I remained about a week, waiting for an opportunity to go to Fort Harmar, and carry a quantity of clothing with me. Set off in a Contractors boat, in company with Capt Heart; was obliged to remain one day at Fort McIntosh on account of high wind and ahead, arrived at Fort Steuben in one day— This is a Fort built since I was on the river by Capt Hamtramck, at Mingo Bottom, on the Indian shore, about 47 miles below McIntosh, and 23 above Wheelin— It is about 120 yards from the river, on a very excellent high bank of commanding ground— A square, with a large Block House on each corner, and picquets between each block house form the fort, much in this manner, (*Here follows a blank in Mss.*) The big Gate fronting the main on West and the Sally port the river, with the Guard house over the latter— The Block house serves for all the men, and the officers houses are on each side of the big Gate—the back part of them serving as a row of Pickets. It is garrisoned by Capts Hamtramcks and Mercers Companies, the former commanding— Stayed here one night, and arrived at Fort Harmar, mouth of Muskingham,

February 18—Where I found all well, the Fort entirely completed to a Pentagon, and garrisoned by Capts Doughtys Harts, Strongs and McCurdys Companies— The Colonels house in one Bastion, Capt Strongs in another, Dr. McDowells in another, the magazine in another, and Capt McCurdys in a fifth— These houses add much to the beauty of the fort, but rather crowd the Bastions too much. The Colonel's is two story high, with a kitchen back; the others,

one story and a half or one story, with small kitchens in the rear and good stone chimneys, as there is very good stone for building to be got near here; a little ways up the Muskingham and other places. The Fort at present appears in this manner— (*Here follows a blank in Ms.*) Great disputes arose among the officers about the paper money which I brought on, and the Colonel concluded not to have it paid out until he consulted the officers up the river, for which purpose, and others, he intends setting out for Fort Pitt in a few days. Delivered what clothing came on to the several Companies that are entitled to it— On the Island just above us a Mr. Carr has built a house, and intends moving to it shortly; he now lives near Grave Creek, also I hear a Mr. Williams, with ten or a dozen other families, which live at Grave Creek, intend making a Settlement right opposite this Fort on the Virginia shore, to be under protection of the Troops.

February 26—The Colonel, with some more officers and myself, set off for Pittsburgh in his Barge, which rows twelve oars and is very elegantly built; went about 18 miles; the next night got the Second Island in the long reach near the Head; the third night got to one Bakers, 6 or 8 miles above Fish Creek; here Maj Finney overtook us in a small boat from the rapids of Ohio, having leave of absence to visit his friends down the country— Set out together in the morning, and got to Wheelin, the next day to Fort Steuben, where Maj Hamtramcks, who was ordered to muster the troops up to Jan'y 1st, 1787, agreed to accompany us to Fort Pitt— Set out all

together, taking some more officers from McIntosh with us, arrived safe at Pittsburgh, had an elegant dance soon after, and kicked up a dust as usual. Col. Harmar agreed to stay here some time— A white man named Ryan, who murdered an Indian, five or six miles from Pittsburgh a little while ago, on the Indian shore at Alegheny, was taken in custody by Genl Butler, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and put in charge of the troops in the Garrison in heavy irons. The Indian who was killed was a principal man in the Seneca Nation, and it remained ever since in doubt whether he was murdered by our people or accidentally died, until the perpetrator [Ryan] was discovered, immediately on which the Indians brother that was murdered dressed himself in all the honors of war, took his Rifle, tomahawk and scalping knife, determined to be avenged for the death of his brother, and came over the river among the Inhabitants to kill the first white person he could find, but was happily prevented by Genl Butlers meeting him on the Bank, and fetching him to the Garrison, showing him the murderer of his brother confined in a dark dungeon with exceeding heavy irons on him, and explained to him the nature of our laws, and that he [Ryan] if found guilty, which in all probability he would, would certainly be hung. The Indian (who could not speak a word of English), instead of shewing any resentment, changed his ferocious countenance into that of pity, took the prisoner by the hand, said he forgave him, and prayed that the Lord, or Great Spirit, would have more mercy on him than he had on his Brother, and left him, seemingly sat-

isfied— A number of presents were made to the wife and friends of the deceased Indian, who all seem affected with his loss. The confining of this man enraged the people a good deal near here in Washington County—they concurring that it is no crime to murder an Indian, and a rescue was talked of, to prevent which, by the advice of the Magistrates, Col Harmar sent the prisoner to Fort McIntosh, to remain there till the Supreme Court sits— The people seem to be no ways satisfied— The wind being very high prevented our setting out two days; as soon as we expected however.

March 25—Early in the morning left Pittsburgh, stayed two hours at McIntosh, and arrived at Fort Steuben in the evening; stayed all night; set out early in the morning, and about 11 o'clock at night arrived at Fort Harmar, coming to-day reckoned 113 miles.

March 27—Major Hamtramck arrived and mustered the troops—

March 29—Paid the remaining companies here their two months pay, having paid the companies up the river as I went up— The Colonel determined to visit the troops at the rapids as soon as possible.

April 2—This day a Mr Trueheartly came in from up little Kenhawa, about 25 miles from here, where he and one or two more families were improving, and informed Colonel Harmar that yesterday four or five Indians attacked them, killed a Mr. Lozier, an old man, and took a boy prisoner. Burnt one house with all the things, and took away their horses, &c— He wished to have a party of men to conduct here the women and

children. A Corporal and a few men were sent, and returned the next day, discovered the Indians crossing the river in a canoe, six or eight miles below here.— D. Smith went out from here with a scouting party, and the men say they saw four or five Indians within half a mile of the garrison, and pursued them, but Mr Smith could not see them himself—but no doubt these same fellows that did the mischief up the Kenhawa lay skulking about here several days, and another small party has been up on Grave Creek nearly the same time. Mr Carr is living in his house on the Island, and Mr Williams, with 8 or ten families, is living in 7 or 8 very snug huts opposite us on the Virginia shore, which makes the Garrison much more pleasant. The land belongs to Mr Williams, who seems to be a tolerable decent man.

April 3—Maj Hamtramck set out for his own fort again, and

April 7—Sergeant Sausse arrived with the letters from below, being brought on by Mr. Schuyler, who has returned from furlough, in consequence of which orders were given for Capt Hearts company to march to Fort Pitt on Tuesday next; accordingly Captain Heart, with his company, marched on the Virginia shore, taking with him two boats for carrying his baggage, to take post at Venango, on the river Allegheny, where French Creek empties into it, about 100 miles above Fort Pitt—he takes one piece of artillery and a Serjt, Corporal and 12 artillery men— I believe the intention is, the protection of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and to keep the Six Nations in order—Promotion taken place in the New York Line—Capt Hamtramck to be Ma-

jor of the Regt, &c— He is sent for to take command here in the Colonels absence to the Falls— The Colonel determined to set out to-morrow, Sunday—

April 15—The Barge sett out from Fort Harmar 10 o'clock for the Rapids, having on board the Colonel, Mr. Pratt, myself and 26 men; the water low— Stopped half an hour at Bellville, passed the little falls about 8 o'clock. Kept only four oars at work at night, arrived at Great Kenhawa a little after 3 o'clock, staid till about 7 in the morning—

April 16—I breakfasted with Col Lewis &c, and set out; at dark suppose we were about 10 miles from Sciota; found ourselves in the morning,

April 17—In sight of the three Islands, which is 12 miles above Limestone; got to Limestone a little after 10 o'clock. Breakfasted and staid till near one, set out, and passed little Miami 10 o'clock at night, exceeding dark and dangerous passing the mouth of this river, on account of a great many logs and sand bars; got over safe, kept only two oars at work to-night, in the morning about sunrise,

April 18—Got to Maj. Finneys old Fort at Miami, staid here two hours and breakfasted; the fort not destroyed, one block house burnt, which was done soon after its being evacuated; set out at sundown, passed the Kentucky river, which is not so big as I supposed it to be; suppose 150 yds over at its mouth; and little Kentucke, which is close by below, is a trifling stream. This river is supposed to be half way between Great Miami and the Rapids. I think there are but three Islands between Miami and Kentucke; kept four oars going all night.

POETIC PROPHECY OF THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA

From an English Newspaper, April, 1766

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A BRITON AND A NORTH AMERICAN

To the Tune of Push about the brisk Bowl

To judge at this crisis which England's the best,
This tottering old State or the new;
The story I tell, not devised as a jest,
Very clearly the matter will shew.

To a Briton in point of dispute t'other day,
An American made this reply;
Those measures which bring your dear land to decay
Are such deeds as we boldly defy.

The fruits of our country we freely enjoy,
And when any intrusions arise,
In a body we join, and disdain to comply
To be stung by that monster Excise.

I grant every mortal in freedom delights;
In the State which your greatness did "raise,"
Who protected your lives, and defended your rights,
Sure in taxing may do as they please.

As our blood and our treasure were lavish'd away
To secure you from insults from France;
Pray, why should you grumble those levies to pay
Which we in proportion advance?

Then the Colonist frowned in the wrangling debate,
And reply'd as in anger he wax'd,
Ye Britons have always been fooled by your State,
For Americans scorn to be tax'd.

You're tax'd in your Lights, and how shocking to think!
That you three pence must pay to the ——
For ev'ry twelve-penny worth of stingo you drink,
Which by *Bacchus* I swear's not the thing.

Now if you are minded to live at your ease,
Ride o'er the Atlantic with me;
Leave your Statesmen to wrangle or do what they please,
And with us you shall ever be free.

You may laugh at my prattle, and think it a joke,
But you'll want to follow in time;
America quickly will shake off its yoke,
And of Empires will soon be the prime.

Old England's decline and embarrassed with cares,
Caus'd the Briton no longer to stand;
For he not to his tale only laid down his ears,
But bid far adieu to the land.

NOTES

INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES ON LONG ISLAND, DERIVED FROM ESCULENT ROOTS

—The Indians frequently designated localities by the names of esculent or medicinal roots which they produced. In the Algonkin language, the generic name for tubers and bulbs was *pen*,—varying in some dialects to *pin*, *pena*, *pon*, or *bun*. This name seems originally to have belonged to the common ground nut, *Apios tuberosa* (Abnaki, *pen*, pl. *penak*). Other species were designated by prefixes to this generic, and, in the composition of place-names, a suffix was employed to denote locality (*auk*, *auki*, *ock*, etc.) or abundance (*knti*, *kddi*). Thus, *p'sai-pen*, 'wild onion,' with the suffix for 'place,' gave *p'sai-pen-auk*, or as it was written by the Dutch, "Passapen-ock" (O'Callaghan's New Neth., I. 122), the Indian name for Beeren Island, in the Hudson, near Coeyman's. *Si-pen* (for *m'si-pen*) i. e. "large ground-nut," was the Abnaki name for the root of the yellow lily, *Lilium canadense*; in the Penobscot dialect, 'she-pen, Micmac 'shie-bun. *Shubenacadie* river, N. S. (*Cheben-acardie*, Charlevoix; *Shebenacadia*, Jefferys, 1775,) was named from a locality in which there were 'plenty of *shepen-ak*'; Micmac, *shubunak-kddi*.

Several local names of this kind have been preserved in the eastern townships of Long Island. The species, denoted by the prefix, cannot in all cases be determined, but the generic name, with its localizing affix, is easily recognisable.

Acabonac, *Accabonuck*; now the name of a harbor on Gardiner's Bay. East-hampton was originally the designation of a 'root-place.' The species is not

ascertained. Probably it is the same that is mentioned by Hariot, in Virginia, as *Okeepenauk*, "roots of round shape, found in dry ground; the inhabitants used to boil and eat many of them."

Ketchaponock, *Catchebonnuc*, a neck on Shinnecock Bay, Southampton, was a "place of the largest roots" (*kehche-pen-auk*), i. e. the largest species of esculent roots found in that neighborhood. In some parts of the country the name would indicate the Yellow Water Lily (*Nuphar advena*) Josselyn's "water lily with yellow flowers; the Indians eat the roots, which are long in boiling. They taste like the liver of a sheep." *N. E. Rarities*, p. 44. The Long Island *kehche-pen* may have been the Arrowhead (*Sagittaria*), the *katniss* of the Delaware Indians, the root of which is sometimes "as big as a man's fist." It was eaten either boiled or roasted. Its name was transferred by the Indians to the *turnip*, introduced by Europeans.

Sagabonock, in Bridgehampton parish, Southampton, has left only the remnant of its name to *Sagg Pond* and *Sag Harbor*. "The great pond, commonly called *Sackaponock*" is mentioned, 1661, in Conn. Col. Records, I. 368. The *sagabon* (Micmac *segubun*) is "a ground nut or Indian potato" (Rand), that is, I suppose, the *Apios tuberosa*. "At a general court [in Southampton], held March 6, 1654, It is ordered, that noe Indians shall digg for ground-nuts in the plain, or digg in any ground, uppon penalty of sitting in the stocks," &c.—(Records in Thompson's L. Island).

Sebonack, *Seaponack*, a neck, on Peconic Bay, Southampton, was a 'large-ground nut place.' *Sebon* or *Sepen* (Ab-

naki sipen, mod. Penobscot *she-pun*, Micmac *shubun*) is the root of the Yellow Lily (*L. canadense*). Thoreau's Indian guide told him that "these roots were good for soup, that is, to cook with meat to thicken it," and showed him how to prepare them" (Maine Woods, pp. 194, 284, 326). *Sabonac* point, near Mastic, Brookhaven, has the same name differently spelled. The bulb of the Orange-Red Lily (*L. Philadelphicum*) was also used for food. It is the Chippeway *mashkode-pin*, Abn. *muskata-pen*, i. e. 'meadow ground-nut.' The Jesuit Relation for 1634 names it ("des oignons de Martagons rouges") among the roots eaten by the Indians of Canada. The tuberous rhizoma of the Yellow Nelumbo or Water Chinquapin (*Nelumbium luteum*) was highly prized by the western Algonkins. It resembles the sweet potato, and Dr. Torrey says (Botany of New York, I. 38) that, "when fully ripe, it becomes, after considerable boiling, as farinaceous, agreeable, and wholesome as the potato." The Chippeways call it *mako-pin* (for *makwa-pin*), i. e. "bear's potato"; from which comes the name of *Macoupin* county, Illinois.

Tuckahoe, a level tract of land near Southampton village, takes its name from one or another of the larger 'round' (Mass. *p'tuckwe*) roots. The common *tuck-aho* of Virginia (*tockwhogh*, as Capt. John Smith wrote the name; *toccaho* and *tockowhough* of Strachey) was the root of the Golden Club or Floating Arum (*Orontium aquaticum*). "It groweth like a flag, in low, muddy freshes. In one day a salvadge will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the bignes and tast of potatoes" (Strachey).

In New Jersey and Pennsylvania the name seems to have been specially appropriated to a sort of truffle or subterranean fungus (*Pachyma cocos*, Fries), popularly called "Indian loaf." Several localities, creeks, etc., in various parts of the country retain the name of Tuckaho; e.g., Tuckahoe Creek and village, Cape May co., N. J.; Tuckahoe Hill, Yonkers, N. Y.; another, Tuckahoe Creek, Jones co., N. C.; another in Maryland, etc. One of the most amusing of Mr. Heckewelder's etymologies is that by which the name of Tuckahoe Creek, Md., is derived from "*Tuchdhowe*, deer are shy, difficult to come at; also, *tuch-auchsak*, the place where the deer are very shy!"

J. H. TRUMBULL.

UNIFORMS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.—*Origin of the Buff and Blue*. It was at Alexandria where George Washington first stepped forth as the public patron and leader of sedition and revolt, having subscribed fifty pounds to these purposes when others subscribed only five, and having accepted the command of the first company of armed associators against British government, which he had clothed in his old uniform of the Virginia regiment last war, viz, blue and buff, a dress he has continued to wear until this time (1783).

Virginia Volunteers in scarlet. I reached Piscataway to breakfast, where an Irishman named Johnson, a deserter from the fourteenth regiment of foot, was exercising a company of gentlemen rebels all in scarlet (1775).

The Backwoods Riflemen. Their whole dress is very singular, and not very materially different from that of the Indi-

ans; being a hunting shirt, somewhat resembling a waggoner's frock, ornamented with a great many fringes, tied round the middle with a broad belt, much decorated also, in which is fastened a tomahawk, an instrument that serves every purpose of defence and convenience; being a hammer at one side and a sharp hatchet at the other; the shot-bag and powder horn, carved with a variety of whimsical figures and devices, hang from their necks over one shoulder; and on their heads a flapped hat, of a reddish hue, proceeding from the intensely hot beams of the sun.

Sometimes they wear leather breeches, made of Indian dressed elk, or deer skins, but more frequently thin trowsers. On their legs they have Indian boots, or leggings, made of coarse woollen cloth, that either are wrapped round loosely and tied with garters, or are laced upon the outside, and always come better than half way up the thigh; these are a great defence and preservative, not only against the bite of serpents and poisonous insects, but likewise against the scratches of thorns, briers, scrubby bushes, and underwood, with which this whole country is infested and overspread.

On their feet they sometimes wear pumps of their own manufacture, but generally Indian moccassons, of their own construction also, which are made of strong elk's, or buck's skin, dressed soft as for gloves or breeches, drawn together in regular plaits over the toe, and lacing from thence round to the fore part of the middle of the ancle, without a seam in them, yet fitting close to the feet, and are indeed perfectly easy and pliant.

Thus habited and accoutred, with his

rifle on his shoulder, or in his hand, a back-wood's man is completely equipped for visiting, courtship, travel, hunting or war. According to the number and variety of the fringes on his hunting shirt, and the decorations on his powder horn, belt, and rifle, he estimates his finery. Their hunting, or rifle shirts, they have also died in a variety of colours, some yellow, others red, some brown, and many wear them quite white.—*Tour in America.* By J. F. D. Smyth. W. K.

AMIAILITY OF MRS. WASHINGTON.—*Extract of a Letter from S. Johnston to James Iredell, dated New York, March 4, 1790.*—"I have just left the President's, where I had the pleasure of dining with almost every member of the Senate. We had some excellent champagne; and, after it, I had the honor of drinking coffee with his Lady, a most amiable woman. If I live much longer, I believe I shall at last be reconciled to the company of old women for her sake, a circumstance which I once thought impossible. I have found them generally so censorious, and envious, that I could never bear their company. This, among other reasons, made me marry a woman much younger than myself, lest I should hate her when she grew old; but I now really believe there are some good old women." W. K.

A SPARTAN CONGRESS.—Mr. Clay refused to permit the Senate of the United States to assemble in the Representatives' Chamber to witness the inauguration of Mr. Monroe, *unless they would use the wooden chairs belonging to the House.* The Senators—who are used to sitting

on velvet—refused; and the inauguration took place out of doors.—*Massachusetts Spy*, March 26, 1817. PETERSFIELD.

AMERICAN CANNIBALISM.—Murphy's "Voyage of Verrazzano," page 149, referring to the statement of Ramusio, that Verrazano was killed and eaten by savages on the coast, says that statement "has no support or confirmation in the history of that rude and uncivilized people; for, however savage and cruel they were towards their enemies, or, under provocation towards strangers, no authenticated instance of their cannibalism has ever been produced."

In this connection may be noted the fact that Montcalm's Canadian Indians roasted and eat English prisoners at Lake George in 1757. The tribe concerned were "Outaouacs," who resembled the Abnakis. Father Roubaud witnessed the horrid feast, and was offered "a piece of the broiled Englishman." See Kip's Early Jesuit Missions, p. 155.

SELAH.

BUFF AND BLUE.—Of the sentiments with which the Whigs [in England] of this period [1775] regarded the great Colonial struggle, two memorials have come down to us—the uniform of the Fox Club, and the cover of the Edinburgh Review, "*buff and blue*," the insignia of so many patriots, and the subject of so much periodical discussion, became during the war with the colonies the badge of the entire Whig party, and were adopted by it as the distinguishing colours of the American Army.—*Albemarle's Memoirs of Rockingham II*, 276.

W. K.

QUERIES

THE NEW ENGLAND TONE.—In 1763, the Reverend Alexander McWhorter of Newark, New Jersey, wrote to an eminent divine in Connecticut in behalf of the church of Newark Mountains (now Orange, N. J.) for a young man to be their minister: "Don't send us any of your Antinomian or Arminian Christians; neither send us any of your Sandemansians." Another applicant in the same behalf writes: "In that country they insist very much upon a man's being a good speaker; and *they hate the New England tone*, as they call it."

Is there any earlier allusion to an alleged peculiarity of intonation prevalent in New England? C. W. B.

FIRST COMPANY OF MINUTE MEN RAISED IN AMERICA.—General Heath, in a letter addressed to Harrison G. Otis, dated April 21, 1798, made the following statement: "The first company of Minutemen raised in America in the year 1775, preparatory to the defense of their invaluable rights and liberties, was raised in this town (Roxbury), and that company, with others, distinguished itself in the battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775." Was Gen. Heath right in supposing Roxbury to be the Banner Town of the Revolution? LEXINGTON.

PEMMICAN.—Will J. H. T., who has explained *Pembina* (I. 47) in accordance with the statements to me on the spot by Consul Taylor, also give us the meaning of *Pemmican*—or Pemitigon, as it appears in Lewis & Clarke, vol. i, p. 106—which is apparently a word analogous to *Pembina*? J. D. B.

STEPHEN BUTLER.—Was a stepson of Benjamin Ward, shipwright in Boston, who had a water lot there for plying his trade before 1638. Is there any list extant of early ships? Information—not in Savage or Genealogical Register—regarding this Butler is desired.

Madison, Wis. JAMES D. BUTLER.

YANKEE DOODLE.—Rivington's New York Gazette of January 12, 1775, contains some verses supposed to be written by a Long Island Quaker; they are signed, "No Yankee," and conclude with the following:

"P. S. I fret, I storm, I spit, I spew
At Sound of Yankee Doodle Do."

Is there any earlier mention?

PETERSFIELD.

THE ARMY LODGE.—What became of the Masonic Lodge which existed in the Continental Army during the revolution, having, while army headquarters were at Newburgh, accommodation set apart for it there, and when army headquarters were removed to West Point, was continued there at the close of the war? Was the lodge removed to Marietta by the officers who went west from West Point in 1785?

ARMOR.

A VACANCY IN THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI.—There is a place vacant in this Society, which, as our readers know, is composed of eldest sons in the eldest line of the original founders. Who is the eldest male descendant of Dr. Isaac Ledyard, who died at Staten Island, while health officer, August 28th, 1803, and in default of direct issue, who is the titular representative of this original founder?

J. L. V.

REPLIES

WAS MILES STANDISH A ROMANIST?—(I. 258.) A query in your important periodical, touching the religious opinions of that true Pilgrim hero, Captain Miles Standish, has induced me to recur and to communicate to you the result of certain investigations which I made some time ago, when the subject was originally, I believe, brought to the attention of the public. The *Catholic World*, in a paper published in that magazine two or three years since, made some attempt to show that the stout old soldier, who came over with the Pilgrims from Leyden, and who was for so many years the military champion of the colony, *might have been* a Roman Catholic in belief. If so, it must have been necessarily in secret. The priority in starting this notable theory was claimed, however, by a well-known Unitarian clergyman of Boston, in a public address made by him in that city during the last year. The *Catholic World*, naturally desirous to claim so conspicuous a character as an adherent to its faith, based its theory, so far as I now recollect it, upon the fact that the Standish family in England, of which the Captain was a younger son, were Roman Catholics; as well as upon the presumption, fortified by some traditional statements, that this valiant officer, who had seen a good deal of the world and of military service abroad, did not hold opinions in strict conformity with the more rigorous doctrines of his pious compatriots at Plymouth. There is not a stain, so far as I ever heard, upon his moral character; but he entertained apparently more liberal views of religious doctrine than they, and for

this reason, perhaps, withdrew to his well-known residence upon "Captain's Hill," in Duxbury, about eight miles distant from Plymouth—though often spending the winter in that town—his Duxbury residence being so solitary as to have fully vindicated his character as one of the bravest of the brave, were other evidence wanting, in the constant danger from savage foes, to whom he was especially obnoxious, and where he continued to live, when not engaged, as he almost incessantly was, in service as the military chief of the colony, or in his civil duties as one of its chief magistrates, until the close of his life. It may throw some light upon his partial isolation, that within eight years, it is alleged, after the landing of the Pilgrims, some of the more distinguished persons of their body, Cudworth, Hatherly, Vassal and others, removed to Scituate, twenty miles distant from Plymouth, and though truly pious, as men in those days were pious, yet manifested a liberality of religious sentiment far in advance of that entertained by their brethren in the original settlement.

The Boston Doctor of Divinity sought to support his theory by the notion that Captain Standish, though in full trust with the brethren at Plymouth, who confided their lives and fortunes to his sagacity, courage and good faith, all his own life long, yet might, if convenient, have made a voyage to *Pemaquid*, where he could have had the religious offices of a French Jesuit stationed at that place; though this could hardly have been without the knowledge of those who must have accompanied him; without an open and ruinous scandal at home, and with-

out an absolute contradiction of all that is known of his manly and noble character. Certainly, Miles Standish was no hypocrite.

Lossing, in his "Field Book of the American Revolution," gives *fac similes* of the signatures of a dozen or more of the passengers by the Mayflower, among which is that of Standish, and remarks that "all these were members of the First Church of Plymouth." If this be so, and it is to be presumed that it was so stated on sufficient authority, the question at issue is conclusively settled. It is true, that Standish may have fallen away afterwards; that is, as I have intimated, into a somewhat more liberal way of thinking than that which prevailed at Plymouth; but, in the absence of the slightest evidence it is, at least, extremely unlikely that it was into the arms of the Roman Catholic Church. I do not mean to intimate that avowed adhesion to that church would have been at all to his discredit, but I do boldly assert that any secret connection with it would have been entirely inconsistent with his whole life and character; and that the least suspicion of such a fact must have necessarily excluded him from participation in the civil and military affairs of the colony. I say *civil* as well as military, implying the highest trust in his capacity and fidelity, because it appears that as early as 1625,—“In the bigger of these ships [ships sent to England] Capt. Miles Standish sent over as agent in behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honorable council of New England * * * and accomplished his business, so as he left

things in a fair way for future composition betwixt the said merchant-adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honorable council afore-named, who promised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them." Morton's "New-England's Memorial," p. 125.

And Judge Davis, the editor of the edition of the "Memorial" of 1826, in a note on page 262, says: "It thus appears that he continued active in military employments, on every occasion, until three years of his death. *He was uniformly one of the board of assistants.*" These assistants were the predecessors of our Governor's council of the present day, and the presumption certainly is, that a man so trusted in vital affairs, throughout his life, by the Plymouth colony, could have had no Roman Catholic sympathies whatever.

The first we learn about this scion of a noble English house is, that he served with the English troops in the Netherlands, in the Thirty Years War, and, of course, on the Protestant side; that while there, he "came acquainted with the church at Leyden," and united himself with those of that religious company, who first came over to New England. For it must be remembered that the Pilgrim company of Leyden was a strictly religious association.

In fact, on the point of his imputed Roman Catholic tendencies, alleged without the shadow of evidence, the negative proof is as conclusive as on any undisputed matter of history; and the positive testimony is no less certain. The only presumption suggested in favor of the Catholic theory is, that the Standish

family in England was of that religious communion; but, on the other hand, it appears by the Captain's will that he had been deprived of large family possessions which he claimed as heir; the reason for which may have been that, in the conflict of opinions prevalent in England in his day, he may have refused his adherence to the ancient faith before he joined the Protestant forces to the Netherlands. The presumption, it will be seen, is of the slightest possible weight, implying that he who was one of the bravest of the brave—and, therefore, inferentially honest, and was really the right-hand of the Pilgrim colony—was all his life-long a hypocrite, not only without motive, but contrary to every conceivable motive; and was, moreover, devoting his life until its end to establish and uphold a strictly anti-Catholic organization, in the service of which he never hesitated to risk all that could be dear to him as a citizen and a man.

But really positive evidence on this subject is afforded by the notice of him after his death in "New England's Memorial," under date of the year 1656. Secretary Morton, as he is commonly called, of Plymouth, was admitted a freeman in 1625, became secretary in 1645, and held the office until his death, in 1685. According to the preface of the "Memorial," by Judge Davis, he was "scrupulously faithful, diligent and exact," and his work is one of extraordinary value. It can hardly be imagined that he was not intimately acquainted with his neighbor, Captain Standish, his contemporary at Duxbury and Plymouth for more than twenty years, and surviving him nearly thirty

years, with ample opportunity to learn all that could be said of him, living or dead. I quote his words:—"This year Captain Myles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over to the Low Countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leyden, and came over into New England with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New England, and bore a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, *he fell asleep in the Lord*, and was honorably buried at Duxbury." "Memorial," p. 262.

The language used above is the same as that employed by Morton, so recording the decease of divines and other devout persons of the little separatist Pilgrim colony; but it cannot be believed that he would have applied it to one not recognized as in practically full communion with himself and his companions.

GEORGE LUNT.

Scituate, Mass.

NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY.—(I. 128.) "The New England Society, in the City and State of New York," probably the first of the kind, was organized May 6, 1805, in the city of New York. James Watson was chosen President; General

Ebenezer Stevens and Francis Bayard Winthrop, Vice Presidents; Rufus King, Samuel Osgood, Abijah Hammond and Oliver Wolcott, Counselors. On Saturday, December 21, 1805, they celebrated the 185th anniversary of the landing of their forefathers at Plymouth, by a dinner at the City Hotel on Broadway, a report of the proceedings on which occasion in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of the 23d inst., contains the following paragraphs:

"More than 150 gentlemen of the Society, forgetting all differences of party and opinion, united to celebrate the occasion with an affectionate remembrance of their common origin and in the true spirit of a Society, the objects of which are *friendship, charity, and mutual assistance.*"

"This, we believe, is the first time in this State that the descendants of New England, now so extensively diffused, have joined in a public and solemn celebration of that anniversary."

Among the twenty-three toasts drank were the following:

"The descendants of the first settlers of New York—we respect them as our elder brethren, and may they regard us as members of their family."

"Tranquil sleep to those who have dreamed that this Society has any other views than charity and good will towards all men."

W. K.

JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.—(I. 128.) I have found to my cost that the edition of 1823, referred to by P. F., is not an exact reprint. On any important point it is necessary to verify the Proceedings by a comparison with the original edition. STUDENT.

WILLIAM EUSTIS.—(I. 259.) William Eustis tendered his resignation as Secretary of War to the President of the United States on the 3d of December, 1812. It was accepted, but at the request of the President, Mr. Eustis consented to remain in office until a successor was appointed. On the 13th of the same month, for the personal convenience of the late Secretary, the War Department was committed to the charge of the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Acts of Congress; it being understood by the Executive that Mr. Eustis would give all the aid and assistance in his power while he remained in Washington.

The following extract from the *National Intelligencer*, of Dec. 8, 1812, does not support the suggestion of a removal from office made by G. W. C. in his query. "It gives us much pleasure to state our belief that this resignation is not the result of any collision between the President and the Secretary of War, but has been tendered by the one and accepted by the other in a manner the most amicable and conciliatory." The friendly relations of Madison and Eustis are confirmed by the fact that the latter was appointed Minister to Holland two years later.

G. W. C. is in error as to the fate of the public archives; they did not perish in the "vandal conflagration" of 1814, but were removed to a place of safety before the enemy took possession of Washington.

W. K.

THE FIRST BORN. *In Ohio*—(I. 195.) At least eighteen years before the birth of Williams, which you have chronicled

as near Cleveland, in 1798, was that of Samuel Leith, born before 1780, in a Moravian mission, far west of Cleveland, on the Sandusky river. See Butterfield, *Crawford's Campaign*, p. 179. J. D. B.

AN HISTORICAL PORTRAIT.—(I. 251.) There is in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society a portrait of Lafayette, similar to that in the gallery of the New York Historical Society. Its size is about 3 x 2 feet; dress, dark blue coat with white facings buttoned back, standing collar of scarlet, white waist-coat with gilt buttons, white breeches, white cravat and ruffled shirt, gold epaulets. Hair powdered and cued and face clean shaven. On the left breast three decorations, one being of a lozenge shape. The portrait is labelled "Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, taken at Paris for Thomas Jefferson."

S. A. G.

LAFAYETTE'S DECORATIONS.—(I. 259.) The lozenge shaped medal referred to as designed upon the breast of General Lafayette's portrait, was probably a Masonic emblem. Some brother mason may give further details.

APPRENTICE.

MAY PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Regular Monthly Meeting was held in the Hall of the Society on the evening of Tuesday, May 1, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D., in the Chair.

The Executive Committee reported that, at the request of the Orator, Mr. Charles O'Connor, the meeting at the Academy of Music, to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the State of New York, arranged for the 24th April, had been postponed until the evening of the 8th May.

Numerous new members were admitted, among whom several ladies. Ladies have been always gladly received into the ranks of the Society, and are entitled to all its privileges, including the ballot.

Upon the conclusion of the routine business, the President, in the name of Mr. George Clinton Tallmadge, presented to the Society a fine three-quarter length portrait of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State of New York, and later Vice President of the United States. This picture, from the hand of Ezra Ames, one of the best works of the artist, has been for many years in the care of this Society, the permanent property of which it has now become. On presenting the picture, Mr. de Peyster read a brief sketch of the distinguished services of Clinton as a soldier and statesman, and offered a resolution of thanks to the generous donor, which was unanimously adopted.

The Paper of the evening was an account of the "the Stamp Act in New York," by the Librarian. It is the leading article in this number of the Magazine. Its main point of interest is its establishment of the claim of New York as the originator of the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765, and a demand for a reversal of the order of precedence upon the tablet set up in Independence Hall,

which erroneously ascribes the priority to Philadelphia.

The meeting, commemorative of the adoption of the Constitution of the State, was held at the Academy of Music, Tuesday evening, 8th May, when Mr. Charles O'Connor delivered an address upon "The Constitutions," to one of the largest and most brilliant audiences ever gathered in this city. The President, Mr. de Peyster, in the chair. The platform was occupied by distinguished gentlemen, among whom were the Presidents of the Massachusetts and New Jersey Historical Societies; Representatives of the Judiciary, Literary and Collegiate Institutions and of the Professions. Besides these a delegation from the New York State Society of the Cincinnati. The speaker's table was elegantly festooned with flowers, emblematic of the occasion, and patriotic airs were given by the Seventh Regiment Band.

The oration was distinguished by the force, incision and originality, which are the characteristics of Mr. O'Connor's mind. It was delivered with admirable clearness; the thrusts at existing evils being at once caught by the appreciative audience and greeted with applause. Mr. O'Connor made allusion to the last great effort of Mr. Webster in his address before the Society. "He had already passed three score and ten; yet how magnificent, how like a immortal was that presence! None who witnessed the display can ever forget it." Perhaps this memory prompted him to his own great effort.

At its close, a vote of thanks, offered by Mr. Moore, on behalf of the Society, and ably seconded by Judge John K. Porter, was adopted with enthusiasm.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with
Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE LATE AMERICAN WAR, BY A. MAHAN, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER BY LIEUT. GENERAL M. W. SMITH. 8vo., pp. 461. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, 1877.

This extraordinary volume has already attracted general attention and criticism, although as yet we have not noticed any review emanating from a competent military authority; whether it is entitled to any notice from such critics we are not competent to decide. Although a doctor by profession, Mr. Mahan assumes by reason of his long study of the science of war to be competent to pass *ex cathedra* judgments on the conduct of campaigns. But theory and practice teach lessons often diametrically opposite. It is often forgotten that the chief merit of a commander is to accommodate himself to the nature of the institutions and the character of the people from which he must draw his army and his supplies. In this respect we find that both Grant at the North, and Lee at the South, were thorough representatives of the different orders of government and society which were in antagonism. The American people would never have endured the rigor of the French convention, or the discipline of the great Frederick; certainly not unless in the last extremity of despair.

The rapid movement of the German armies over roads as broad and substantial as those of the Central Park, so solid that the continual movement of the heaviest artillery made little impression upon them, can not be used as a ground for censure of the slow dragging of our American armies whose trains sunk axle-deep in the mire of our country roads. Nor must it be forgotten that the short levies were constantly dismissing from the service drilled troops and replacing them with inexperienced material.

According to the doctor, if his prescription had been taken, and he tells us that the plan he presented to the Government in 1863 was approved by Generals McDowell and Burnside, the campaign in Virginia could have been finished up in a winter. He names persons high in authority who are still living, and we presume his modest assumption will be either contradicted or confirmed. Every thing connected with the war attracts great attention, though we repeat the doubt we have before expressed, that any certain judgment, which will stand the test of time, can yet be written. We suppose, if this work be authoritative, that the doctor will make his mark somewhere on the line of the Danube. As an Englishman he will no doubt be called into consultation by the "sick-man," when we shall see his "practice."

The publishers deserve credit for presenting a book so novel and attractive on a subject of such general interest.

MONTCALM ET LE CANADA FRANÇAIS.

ESSAI HISTORIQUE, PAR CHARLES DE BOYNECHOSE, AVEC UN PORTRAIT ET DEUX CARTES. 12mo, pp. 208. HACHETTE & CIE, PARIS, 1877. Forsale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

In the range of American history there is no name which awakens more romantic reminiscences and touches the sympathetic cord more than that of the brave, courteous and unfortunate Montcalm; whose destiny it was, after showing more military genius than any soldier France had ever sent to her American domain, to feel in his dying hour that it had slipped from her grasp. The story of French colonization on this continent is well told by this expert historian, but it is in the minor details that we find the charm of this volume. Take his description of Montcalm: "He was of small stature, of proud mein, nervous in manner, with a thick nose and great sparkling eyes, the brilliancy of which was heightened by his hair powder. The chief trait of his mind was his *coup d'œil*, the precision of which was not injured by its rapidity

* * * An imagination bold while not chimerical, rich without illusion, he was above all a man of action and of rapid action. But his greatness was neither in his faculties nor his talents, but in his absolute devotion to duty. * * * When the hour of his supreme sacrifice arrived he was ready; with head erect and in serenity of spirit he saluted France and died." We hope soon to see a translation of this book.

1776-1876—ÉTUDE SUR LA RÉPUBLIQUE

DES ÉTATS UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE par le MARQUIS DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, Attaché de la Commission Française de l'Exposition de Philadelphie. 8vo., pp. 226. Riverside Press, Cambridge. HURD & HOUGHTON. New York, 1876.

The author of this work bears a name which alone will attract attention to his book. In its preface he announces himself as "earnestly desiring to see his country strengthen its republican institutions, alone compatible with the march of the century"—but he recommends to it the Government of America as it existed in 1776, and warns it against that of 1876, which with national modesty he pronounces to be "a democratic anarchy incompatible with national prosperity." We shall not follow him through the chapters

which, giving a sketch of the causes and results of the war of Independence, are preliminary to his "parallel between the America of 1776 and the America of 1876." Here he claims to have remarked the changes which have "lowered the moral level of its individuality." After paying full justice to the men of a century ago, he gives the present generation the coup de grace in one paragraph, which is a sample of the whole: "It is a people whose morality is that of nations in decay; its religious principles are so weak that it is doubtful whether there are any whatever; its instruction elementary to the most striking degree." All this he attributes to the love of money and the spirit of "go-ahead."

The elementary instruction of which he complains has at least been of that practical character which a new country demands, and has enabled America to give to mankind the mechanical marvels of the century, which have contributed to the general welfare of the world. Its love of money does not exceed that which we have found in England, where, as Hawthorne said, no man is above taking a sixpence; or of France, where a franc is a more popular idol than a dollar is here; or in Germany, notoriously penurious. Its governmental integrity will compare favorably with that which was developed by England in the outbreak of the Crimean war, and by France when she went into a colossal struggle "without a button on her gaiters," such had been the peculation in every department of her civil and military service. And for financial integrity, we invite the Marquis to consider the days of Mires, and Pereire, and the fortunes of the followers of the Emperor. We have enough to weep over, but we need not look to Europe for either moral or political education.

HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1877, WITH A GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, by LUCIUS R. PAIGE. 8vo, pp. 731. The Riverside Press. HURD & Houghton. New York, 1877.

A thorough and elaborate history of this ancient seat of learning. This volume is divided into sections, reciting the Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military History, and a register of such families as dwelt in Cambridge before the year 1700, and their descendants, down to a recent period. This volume is not of those which attract or amuse, although full of information and interesting detail.

The author excuses himself for the omission of other than a meagre account of Harvard University, because of the thoroughness of the Histories, of that Alma Mater of thousands of the most eminent men of the nation, by Benjamin Pierce in 1833, by Josiah Quincy in 1840, and by Samuel A. Eliot in 1848. For the military

events in and around Cambridge, the reader is referred to Worthington's History of the Siege of Boston.

It is a capital book of reference, and should be on the shelves of every public library.

PIONEER HISTORY OF MILWAUKEE, FROM THE FIRST AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN 1833 TO 1841, with a Topographical Description, as it appeared in a State of Nature, by JAMES S. BUCK. 8vo, pp. 292. MILWAUKEE NEWS COMPANY. Milwaukee, 1876.

A volume, valuable because written by one of the "old settlers" of this thriving city, and interesting to the pioneers of Wisconsin. It contains biographical sketches of many living citizens, and is illustrated by portraits, steel and lithograph.

CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF LICKING COUNTY, OHIO. Read at the Centennial Celebration of the Licking County Agricultural Society at the "Old Fort," July 4th, 1876, by ISAAC SMUCKER. 8vo, pp. 80. Newark, Ohio, 1876.

LITCHFIELD CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION, JULY 4TH, A. D. 1876. Historical Address by GEORGE C. WOODRUFF. 8vo, pp. 44. Hartford, 1876.

SARATOGA AND KAY-AD-ROS-SE-RA; AN HISTORICAL ADDRESS, by N. B. SYLVESTER, delivered at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 4, 1876. 8vo, pp. 52. WILLIAM H. YOUNG, Troy, 1876.

These three pamphlets are interesting to collectors as contributions to history on the occasion of the Centennial Anniversary. The last named is of special interest this season, when all the localities in the vicinity of the "decisive battle field" will be the object of visit and study by American historians.

OUR NATIONAL CENTENNIAL JUBILEE—ORATIONS, ADDRESSES, AND POEMS, DELIVERED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1876, IN THE SEVERAL STATES OF THE UNION. Edited by FREDERICK SAUNDERS, A. M., of the Astor Library. 8vo, pp. 879. E. B. TREAT. New York, 1877.

This Commemorative Record of our Centennial Anniversary, edited in a careful manner, groups together the best of the Orations, Addresses and Poems elicited by the Centennial Anniversary. As they were all submitted for

revision to their several authors, this is an authoritative record. It will necessarily find its place in the libraries of students and literary men. Mr. Saunders deserves the thanks of the country for this excellent contribution of historic information. The addresses show vividly the variety and extent of literary culture in the different parts of the country, and examined in this light present some curious features. As a whole, they are in a tempered style different from what Americans have been accused of displaying in Fourth of July orations. Our orators have learned the lesson of Pope,

"happily to steer
From grave to gay, from lively to severe."

A QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP; AN EXPOSÉ, by JOHN T. DEXTER. London, 1877.

In this pamphlet Mr. Dexter, a well-known publicist, and author of "The Government of London," sets forth his claim to the authorship of the work published by Mr. Van Campen, entitled "The Dutch in the Arctic Seas," which is now advertised by the former as in press, with other historical papers. According to the testimony of this "Exposé," chiefly documentary, Mr. Dexter seems to lose his case. The publication of the promised work, accompanied by the "Exposé" under consideration, will add to the curiosities of literature, and open the subject for fuller discussion.

PERU—INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION IN THE LAND OF THE INCAS, by E. GEORGE SQUIER, M. A., F. S. A., late U. S. Commissioner to Peru, with illustrations. 8vo, pp. 599. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1877.

Everything is of interest that comes from the pen of Mr. Squier upon Central and South America, where he resided for many years in various official capacities, which gave him peculiar advantages for observation and study. To a natural taste for antiquarian research, he brings an agreeable style of description, which make his books as readable as they are instructive. The present volume is unusually attractive, and illustrated with the profusion for which these liberal publishers are noted.

PAUL REVERE'S SIGNAL. THE TRUE STORY OF THE SIGNAL LANTERNS IN CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON, by REV. JOHN LEE WATSON, D. D., with remarks on laying Dr. Watson's communication before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by CHARLES DEANE. 8vo, pp. 16. PRESS OF JOHN WILSON & SON, 1877.

This is an exhaustive treatment of a matter of purely local interest. Mr. Deane clearly shows that the lantern hung out on the night when the sturdy Liberty boy and express, Paul Revere, made his midnight ride to Lexington, to warn the patriots of the coming of the British, was displayed from the tower of Christ Church, which was known in 1776 as the North Church. That John Pulting was the man who took the keys from the sexton, and made the signal, we see no reason to doubt, but that it was a feat of any special danger, we do not see. It involved flight rather than personal risk.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 3, 1877, with list of members, &c. 8vo, pp. 64. THE SOCIETY'S HOUSE, 18 Somerset street, Boston.

An account of the condition of this excellent Society, and of its transactions during the year 1876. The report of the Librarian, John Ward Dean, Esq., shows a steady increase in the number of volumes and pamphlets, and states the collection to now consist of 13,939 bound volumes, and 43,526 pamphlets—a total of 57,465.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, edited by DAVID A. GORTON, M. D. Vol. XXXIV. March, 1877.

The leading article of this number is dedicated to a review of the Life and Services of Edward I. Sears, the well-known founder of the Review, recently deceased; and contains also, a history of the periodical itself, and many graceful tributes from his associates in the enterprise, besides this several reviews of works treating of economic and literary and educational questions, notices of which are beyond the scope of this Magazine.

We call attention, however, to the 6th Article; "the political situation of the United States," where it is stated that "the chief object of the contending political parties in the United States is the possession of the Government, and the control of its patronage." This seems to us rather a narrow view of the great contending principles which are struggling for ascendancy—economic and political. It must never be forgotten that the "outs" are always the growing party in any normal political condition, and it may be stated as a certain axiom, that administrations which seek to repeat themselves by patronage rather than by measures are sure to be overthrown. We take issue with another statement by the reviewer, that, as in ancient Rome, "he who holds office is a patrician; he who does not is a plebeian." Unfortunately the class in this country analogous to the Roman patricians

neither seek nor accept office. Again, although Republics do not always throw the best men to the service, they are sure to choose those whom they best understand, and who are most "en rapport" with themselves.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO; OR LIFE IN NEW SWEDEN. 16mo, pp. 253. American Sunday-School Union, Philadelphia, 1877.

This little story purports to be the diary of a young Swedish girl who came over in the *Swan* in 1647, and after a six months voyage reached Fort Christina, the site of the Swedish settlement planted by the historic Queen in the year 1637, on the banks of the South River (the Delaware). We join in the words of thankfulness of the gifted authoress that the Delaware Colony was settled by the manly, honest, thrifty Swedes. Nothing is more singular than the tendency which races have manifested from early days to emigrate to points within the climatic zones of their nativity. Other attempts at colonization, as of the French in Canada, or the Moors in Europe, have signally failed; and this of the Swedes to the Delaware country is hardly an exception to the rule, although their influence, particularly religious, fostered by the mother country, is still felt in the manners of the colony which passed at an early period under other domination.

There is no more touching literature than this, which, pervaded by the religious spirit which was the direct result of the great Reformation, recites the self-sacrifice and christian character of the intimate family life of the early colonists who sought to plant free institutions in a distant and strange land. Published by a religious society, to reach the consciences of the young through moral lessons, this natural and life-like diary is full of accurate accounts of historic occurrences worthy the perusal of students.

ENSAYO HISTORICO SOBRE LAS REVOLUCIONES DE YUCATAN DES DE EL AÑO DE 1840, HASTA 1864, por SERAPIO BAQUEIRO. Two volumes. 8vo. Merida, 1871-1873.

These volumes bring down the history of the revolutions, the crop of which is always plentiful in tropical American latitudes, to February, 1850.

The author complains in his introduction that he has not had the advantage of any deposit of archives, but as critics are as numerous as historians, we are not sure that he has not the advantage on his side. We do not propose to review this work, which is voluminous, and evidently the result of research and labor, but simply to call the attention of such of our readers as are engaged in the study of Central American affairs.

PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S DISCOURSE ON COLONIZATION.

The Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., late President of Bowdoin College, while in London in 1867 and 1868, procured from the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, a copy of an early ms. of Richard Hakluyt, the famous collector and publisher of voyages in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was written in the summer of 1584, at the request, and under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, after he had sent out to America his two barks, under Amidas and Barlow, in April of that year, and before their return, by the middle of September. The ms. was specially written for the eye of the Queen, to whom it was presented, and in recommendation of an enterprise of planting the English race in the unsettled parts of North America, discovered by Cabot and not yet occupied by any Christian people, of which possession had been taken the previous year by Gilbert, who, on his return voyage, had perished at sea, and, indeed, in advocacy of what was even then known as the voyage of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of which Raleigh's separate enterprise was but a continuation. Since that time, for nearly three hundred years, it has been lost to the public eye.

On the return of Dr. Woods to this country, he was for some time employed in connection with his friend, the late William Willis, in passing through the press the first volume of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, the preparation of which, by the learned Dr. Kohl, of Bremen, in Germany, had been successfully brought about by Dr. Woods's intervention. That volume was published in 1869. Dr. Woods then entered seriously upon the work of preparing for the press the *Hakluyt Discourse*, to be issued as volume II of the *Documentary History of the State*. The Introduction was only waiting for final revision for the press, when, on the 8th of August, 1873, a disastrous fire destroyed the library of Dr. Woods, and with it all that he had prepared to illustrate the *Hakluyt Discourse*. Fortunately, the *Discourse* itself had been, some time previously, stereotyped at Cambridge, Mass., and the ms. copy was there, safe in the hands of a friend.

Then followed the serious disarrangement caused by the calamity, and, after Dr. Woods had begun the unwelcome effort of recovering what had been lost, the physical infirmity, which forbade literary labor, and, indeed, threatened the entire loss of the fruits of his diligent and successful research. In this emergency, the Committee of the Maine Historical Society, made an arrangement with Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge, to complete the work. It is now all in type, and will soon be issued by the Society.

OBITUARY

THOMAS BALCH

Our readers are familiar with the name of this gentleman, to whose personal friendship and warm interest in historical inquiry we owe the charming narrative of the Prince de Broglie of his visit to America in 1782, the concluding pages of which we print in this number. This valuable document, which Mr. Balch received from the Duke de Broglie, the grandson of the Prince, was translated for us by Miss Elise Willing Balch, his daughter, under his supervision. His last literary labor was a revision of the pages of the narrative.

Thomas Balch, son of Lewis P. W. Balch, was born at Leesburg, Loudon county, Virginia, on the 23d July, 1821. He studied at Columbia College, and later read law in the office of Mr. Stephen Cambreleng, of this city. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar in 1850, and soon became distinguished for his careful, painstaking thoroughness, a quality which marked his later career. Here, in 1852 he married Emily, daughter of Joseph Swift, of Philadelphia, and from this period attached himself to the interests of his adopted city. He served in the City Councils, and was called to preside over important committees, where he displayed moral courage and firmness in difficult situations.

With a turn of mind which led him to historic investigation, he devoted himself to research among the records of the State to which his matrimonial alliance, connecting him with the distinguished family of Shippen, gave additional zest. At the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania he edited "Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania," a work of considerable value, better known as "the Shippen Papers," and added to original documents some interesting sketches of the families and descendants of the writers. This book was privately printed as were also others of the same character, "The Maryland Papers," and "The Examination of Joseph Galloway," both of historic importance, which he edited for the Seventy-Six Society.

In 1859 Mr. Balch went to Europe, where he remained many years, travelling extensively and making the personal acquaintance of many distinguished persons; statesmen, political economists, and literary men. Making his headquarters in Paris, he devoted himself particularly to collecting material for a work he had greatly at heart, and which had engaged his attention for many years. This was the history of the part taken by France in the establishment of American Independence. This study brought him in contact with the descendants of some of those gallant gentlemen who shared with our ancestors the privations and dangers of the field, and by their generous devotion to the cause of the Col-

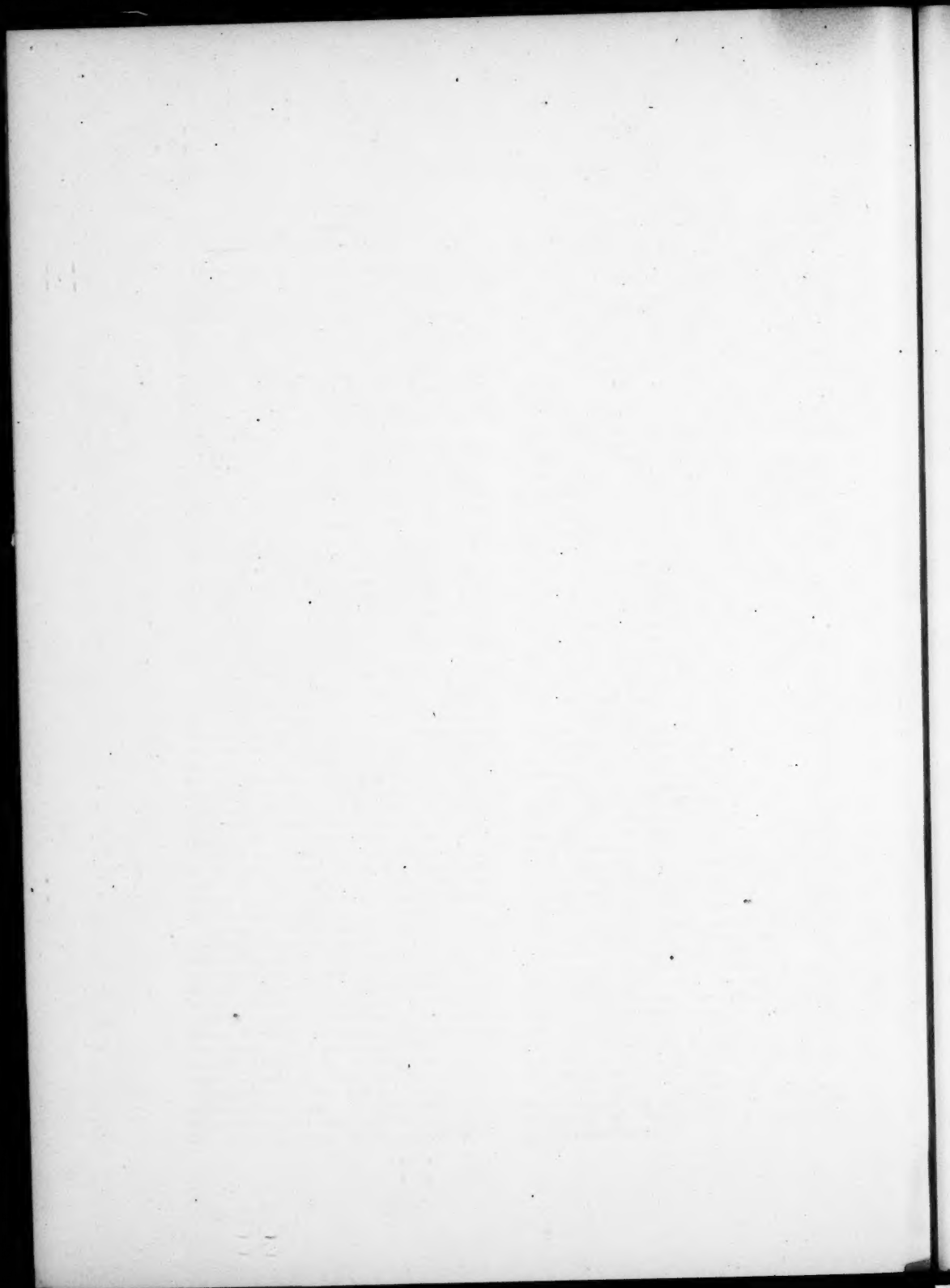
onies, effaced the animosities and prejudices of a century. To these friendships he owed access to numerous manuscripts. Mr. Balch completed his work in 1870, but owing to the breaking out of the Franco-German war it did not appear until 1872. Entitled "Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États Unis, 1777-1783," it contained, in addition to a history of the regular French regiments which served in America and biographical sketches of the officers who volunteered their services to Congress, numerous interesting episodes of American society as it appeared to the European eye. This was only the first part of the work originally contemplated. To the accomplished daughter of Mr. Balch we must look for its continuation.

While thus engaged Mr. Balch still found time for other studies and thought. In 1865 he proposed, in a letter to Mr. Greeley, which was published in the *Tribune*, a Court of International Arbitration, as a measure of averting war, which is believed to have been the first step in this direction. In it was laid down the code of rules later observed by the Geneva Tribunal.

He was the author of many valuable essays both in French and English. To the *Journal de Economistes* he contributed in June, 1870, "Les Dernières crises Financières aux États Unis."

Returning home in 1873, he continued to devote himself to literary labor. He translated for the *Bankers' Magazine* Wolowski's famous article on "the Payment of the French War Fine," with numerous notes. In 1876, he edited Mr. Duane's translation of "the Journal of Claude Blanchard," prefixing to it a preface, which is distinguished by elegance of style. In 1876 he wrote an essay on "Calvinism and American Independence," and in July of the same year, as one of the Congress of Authors, contributed a biographical sketch of Dr. William Shippen, a member of the Continental Congress. During the past year he had given great attention to the study of the monetary question, and on the 23d of February, 1877, read before the Social Science Association a carefully prepared paper on "Free Coinage and a self-adjusting Ratio," in which he advocated the restoration of the bi-metallic standard. This is still a moot question, but no one in America has brought to it more conscientious and thorough examination than Mr. Balch. Mr. Balch was distinguished for untiring research. The processes of his mind were not rapid, but marked by precision and thoroughness. His personal qualities endeared him to all with whom he was brought in contact. He died at his residence in Philadelphia, in the afternoon of Thursday, the 29th day of March last, to the lasting grief of his family and friends.

We trust that his daughter will lift the pen, which dropped from his hand only in death, and continue the work upon which his reputation as an historian chiefly rests.





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